

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
TREATY
AT
Nimueguen.

WITH
REMARKS
ON THE
Interest of EUROPE
In relation to that Affair.

Translated out of French.

L O N D O N :
Printed for *Dorman Newman* at the Kings Arms in
the *Poultry*. 1 6 8 1.

W. Musgrave

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The Translator to the Reader.

Reader,

WHEN I have told you that the Author of this History is a French-man, and that he hath dedicated the Original to Monsieur Colbert, one of the active French Plenipotentiaries at Nimueguen ; I suppose, without other notice, you'l expect to find in it some affectations, I will not say partialities, such as are usual to Authors who write of Affairs wherein their Countrey have the greatest share ; though, to speak evenly, my Author does not seem very culpable in this kind. The General peace that was concluded at Nimueguen, attests the truth of the most substantial matters contained in this Treatise. And the respect that is due to so many great men as were present at the Negotiation, makes it almost incredible that an ingenuous person, such as the Author seems to be (who in his Epistle to the Reader wishes that he had not been a French man, that so he might have avoided the suspicion of partiality) would publish any falshood concerning the compliments and ceremonies which could not be spared amongst so many publick Ministers, when he might so easily, and with shame, be by the many parties concerned convicted of the Imposture.

You need not then doubt, but that this Book presents you with the true lineaments and features of the substantial affairs that were treated in that famous Assembly, though probably the lights and air may be French, and the frame which sets them off a-la-mode de Louis. You know as well as I, that it is usual for subjects and lovers of a victorious Prince, to attribute even the most extorted and involuntary actions of their Master, to his free choice, and meer good will and pleasure; and in this strain you'll find our Author speak throughout this whole Book; yet I make no doubt but that many know how much other influences, besides the French Kings good inclinations to give peace to Europe (and particularly the English Forces sent over into Flanders) have had their effects in producing that Serenity which is at every turn attributed to his pleasure. But seeing it is usual in all great achievements wherein many are concerned, that the several parties assume to themselves the glory of being the chief instruments in bringing them about; I think if the dish be good, you need not be much concerned at the manner of garnishing it, but please your self according to your humour or skill.

Now, Reader, what advantage this Book may afford you, you'll find by the perusal of
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it. And if your Stars have not destin'd
you for such a publick person as that it may
prove practically useful to you, if they have
(at least) endowed you with a love of specula-
tion and knowledg, you will therein certainly
meet with somewhat that may gratifie your
curiosity. Farewell.

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A Table of the Mediators, Plenipotentiaries, Ambassadors and Envoys, mentioned in this History.

M E D I A T O R S.

On the Popes part.

SEignior Bevilaqua.

On the King of Great Britain's part.

My Lord John Berkley.

Laurence Hyde.

Sir William Temple.

Sir Lionel Jenkins.

A M B A S S A D O R S.

For the Emperor.

The Bishop of Gurck.

The Count of Kinski.

Mr. Stratman.

For France.

The Marechal D' Estrades.

Monsieur Colbert.

The Count D' Avaux.

For

For Spain.

The Marquess *de los Balbases.*

The Marquess *de la Fuente.*

Don Pedro Ronquillo.

Mr. *Christin.*

For Sweden.

The Count of *Oxenstiern.*

Mr. *D' Oliver Krantz.*

For Denmark.

Count *Anthony of Oldembourg.*

Mr. *Heugh.*

For the States-General.

The Heer *Beverning.*

The Heer *Odyke.*

The Heer *Haren.*

For the Elector of *Brandenburgh.*

Mr. *De Somnitz.*

Mr. *De Blaspiel.*

Plenipotentiary Envoys.

For the King of *Denmark.*

Mr. *de Meyerkron.*

Mr. *Petkum.*

For the States-General.

The Heer *Boreel.*

For the Elector of *Brandenburgh.*

Mr. *Meinders.*

For the Duke of *Savoy.*

The Count of *Provana.*

For the Duke of *Lorrain.*

The President Canon.

For

For the Bishop of *Osnabrug*.
The Baron of *Platen*.

For the Duke of *Zell* and the Princes
of *Brunswick*.

Mr. *Muller*.

Mr. *Schutz*.

For the Bishop of *Munster*.

Mr. *Termeulen*.

For the Bishop of *Strasbourg*.

Mr. *Duker*.

For the Duke of *Holstein Gottorp*.

Mr. *Ulkers*.

Mr. *Wetterkorp*.

For the Elector of *Mayence* and *Treves*.

The Baron of *Leyen*.

For the Prince and Chapter of *Liege*.

Mr. *Charneux*.

Mr. *Vanderveck*.

For the Elector *Palatine*.

Mr. *Spanheim*.

For the Duke *de la Tremouille*.

Mr. *Sanguimere*.

For the Marechal of *Luxembourg*.

Mr. *De Villewrat*.

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
TREATY
AT
Nimueguen.



THE Treaty begun at
Cologne in the year 1673.
under the Mediation of
Suedeland, gave hopes
that a general Peace
would speedily put an
end to the War that ra-
ged then in *Europe*, when
the seizure of Prince *William* of *Furstem-*
burg, and Forty thousand Crowns taken
out of the Waggon of the *French* Amba-
sadors

sadors in a Neutral City, discomposed affairs in such a manner that the Negotiation so happily begun was quite broken off.

The violence committed on this Prince by the Emperors Ministers, and the injury done to the *French* King, gave ground to many to fear, that Peace would not suddenly be restored again to *Europe*; and that his Majesty would never consent to the renewing of the Treaty, unless reparations were made for those two injuries. Nevertheless at the instance of the King of *England*, (whose Mediation was generally embraced by all the Princes concerned in that War) and at the solicitation of the Bishop of *Strasbourg*, who publicly declared, That he preferred the advantages of Peace before the liberty of his own Brother; The King made the reasons of glory and interest stoop to the inclination which he had of contributing to the Peace of *Europe*. And *Nimueguen* being pitched upon as the place of Treaty, his Majesty resolved instantly to send thither his Ambassadors Plenipotentiaries; and therefore on the 17 of *Febr.* 1675, named for that effect, the Duke of *Vitry*, Monsieur *Colbert*, and the Count *D'Avaux*.

Seeing all the allied Princes appeared not at first to be of the same disposition as
to

Treaty at Nimueguen.

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to Peace, there was no advance made towards the forming of the Assembly at *Nimueguen* until the month of *November*, that the King of *Great Britain* disposed all the Interest-powers to send with all expedition their Ambassadors to *Nimueguen*.

The *French* King was the first, and gave order to his Plenipotentiaries before the end of *December*, to set out for the place of Conference; his Majesty having allowed them but eight days to provide their Equipage. Accordingly on the 28 of *December*, Monsieur *Colbert*, and the Count *D'Avaux* parted from *Paris*, not staying for the Duke of *Vitry*, whose sickness would not permit him to undertake a journey in the severity of the Winter-season.

On the third of *January* they came to *Charleville*, hoping there to find Passports from all those Princes that were concerned to give them, and especially from *Spain* and *Holland*, that they might come down to *Nimueguen* on the *Meuse*; but the Passports were not in such readiness as they were made believe; so that one in *Charleville* foretold the Count *D'Avaux*, That his stay in that Town should be as long as that of the late Count *D'Avaux* his Uncle, who had waited there four months for his Passports, when he went to *Munster* in the character

rafter of Ambassador Extraordinary, and Plenipotentiary for the *French King*, for the Treaty of the General Peace that was afterward concluded there.

The Ambassadors after two months stay, perceiving that the difficulties which were started, sometimes about the reciprocal liberty of sending messengers from *Nimueguen* upon their own single Passports, and sometimes about the quality of Prince *Charles*, who demanded of the *French King* the Titles of Brother and Duke of *Lorraine*, might still detain them long at *Charleville*, they resolved to cause their Goods which were already Embarked, to be brought ashore again, and to wait for their Passports in that Town, which came at length on the fourth of *June*, bearing date the last of *December* in the foregoing year, with an order of Court immediately to set forward; accordingly they Embarked on the seventh of *June*.

The sickness of the Duke of *Vitry* still continued, and was thought desperate, which obliged the King to nominate in his place the *Mareschal d'Estrade*, who was visited by his Colleagues in their passage at *Maestricht*; and having staid there only a day, on Sunday the 13 of *June* about one of the Clock after noon they came to *Moock*
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two Leagues from *Nimueguen*; where having instantly put ashore their Coaches, and most part of their Equipage, they set forward, and came to *Nimueguen* about five of the Clock at night.

Though the *French* Ambassadors were *incognito*, and without Train, having left almost all their servants in the Boats with the rest of their Goods, which did not arrive till next day; yet it may be said that they made a publick entry, by reason of the great concourse of people who out of curiosity and impatience to see the so much wisht-for Ambassadors, flocked out of the Town, upon the Ramparts, into the streets and windows. The vast number of Waggon's laden with packs of Goods that came after, and filled the whole street from the gate of the Town to the Ambassadors houses, gave ground of admiration to that people, who had never seen the like before.

The people seeing this, and being perswaded of the grandeur of *France*, believed that the Ambassadors had brought with them things of vast value and richness; so that their houses were presently filled with those of the Town that crouded thither to see them; and they were not only looked upon as sure pledges of Peace, but also as a probable cause of the wealth of the Town.

All the people being fallſly perſwaded that the *French* were only to be blamed for the delay of the Treaty ; but now ſeeing they were come, they concluded, that in a ſhort time *Nimueguen* was to be the Theater on which the greatneſs and magnificence of *Europe* was to appear. Nevertheleſs matters advanced not ſo faſt as people had imagined ; for as yet there were none at *Nimueguen* but Sir *Lionel Jenkins*, one of the three Plenipotentiary Mediators from *England*, and the *Heers Beverning* and *Haren*, Ambaſſadors Plenipotentiary from the States General of the *United Provinces*.

The *French* Ambaſſadors ſent immediately to acquaint my Lord Ambaſſador *Jenkins* with their arrival, who rendered them the Complement, and gave them next day a viſit in a Coach with ſix Horſes. The *Dutch* Ambaſſadors did the like ; and the *French* rendered the Viſits, ſo ſoon as their Train and Equipage were in a condition to appear abroad.

The *Mareſhal d' Eſtrades* had orders with all expedition to part from *Maſtricht* ; and though his Train and Equipage were not as yet in readineſs, yet he arrived at *Nimueguen* the 28 of *June*, whither Sir *William Temple*, another of the Mediators from *England* came ſhortly after with my Lady *Gifford* his

his Sister ; my Lady *Temple* not coming till two months after.

My Lord Ambassador *Temple* is a person of much learning, singular in his ways and opinions. Some judged him partial in the Mediation, and somewhat unequal in his humour ; he is nevertheless a person of great abilities, and well acquainted with the Republican principles, as appears by the remarks he hath written upon the State of the *United Provinces*. His Colleague Sir *Lionel Jenkins* is a civil well-bred Gentleman, of great integrity, and firm to his Religion ; a person endued with much knowledge, who always shewed himself to be good Mediator. These Ambassadors had a 100 l. sterling a week, besides an hundred and fifty pounds given them for providing their Equipage, with Furniture for the Chamber of Audience, and a service of the Royal Plate, according to the custom of *England*.

The report that came abroad at that time, that the Prince of *Orange* intended to besiege *Maestricht*, seemed as unprobable, as the enterprize was dangerous ; notwithstanding the *Hollanders* flattered themselves with the hopes of carrying that place in a fortnights time ; and it seemed they only waited for the departure of the *Mareschal*

d' Estrades, that they might accomplish their designs; but the conclusion of that siege was much to the advantage of the *French*, who that year succeeded in every thing almost that they undertook either by Sea or Land.

The King in four days took *Conde*, and on the 25 of *April* obliged it to render on discretion. After five days siege the Duke of *Orleans* carried *Bouchain* on the 12 of *May*, in sight of the strongest Army that the Confederates ever had in the *Low-Countries*, under the command of the Prince of *Orange*, who thought it not fit to hazard a Battel with the Kings Army that lay within Canon-shot of him.

Airc on the last of *July* suffered the same fate. The King laid the design, and the Marquess of *Louvois* in the command of the *Mareschal d' Hunieres* put it in execution. The Fort of *Linck* was taken the 9th. of *August*. The *Mareschal* Duke of *Vivonne* was very successful in his Fights on the *Sicilian* Seas; and in the Port of *Palermo* burnt part of the *Spanish* and *Dutch* Fleet. The death of *de Ruyter* that happened a little before by a great shot that he received on board his own Ship, in an engagement against the *French*, was an irreparable loss to the *Dutch*, who never had an Admiral of so much merit and reputation.

In the mean while it was easie to be judged by what began to appear, that if the Prince of *Orange* had taken *Maestricht*, there was no hopes of finding the *Dutch* any ways inclinable to accommodation; but an event so contrary to their expectation, and the ruin of a great part of their Army, of which most of the residue was seen to march by *Nimueguen*, dejected them extreamly, and made them think of other measures.

The first thing that began to be talked of, was the Neutrality of the Country about *Nimueguen*. The Mediators at the solicitation of the *Dutch*, desired that the *French* Ambassadors would extend the limits a little further. And as that concession of Neutrality carried with it also an exemption from contributions, under which the Garrison of *Maestricht* put all the Country to the Gates of *Nimueguen*; and that *Jean Calvo* some Months before in Contributions in the *Maasval*, had; and put the people in fear, even to the heart of the Ambassado
 also desired a

The *French* Court was very averse from granting such an extent of Neutrality, which would have freed their enemies from keeping of strong Garrisons in the Neighbouring places, to cover all that Country ; and therefore that affair lay long undecided.

The pleasantness of the season invited the Ambassadors in the mean time to take the air in their Coaches without the City ; but the *Dutch* Ministers gave notice to the *French*, that seeing there was no security for the Country against the attempts of the Garrison of *Maestricht*, they would not answer neither for what the Garrison of *Grave* might do, being but two leagues distant from *Nimueguen*, and on that side where the Country is only pleasant for taking the air. The *French* Ambassadors therefore prohibited their servants to straggle out of the Town ; though themselves did not forbear to go all together in company being attended by a great number of servants.

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Mediators to view those places that might serve for limits; but finding that there belonged only three Villages to the Jurisdiction of *Nimueguen*, of which the most remote was but a little league from the place, they caused a draught to be made of all that was contained within the circuit of that extent, which being sent to the King, he consented to it as the Ambassadors had proposed.

A Counsellor of the Town, and a *French* Gentleman named by the *French* Ambassadors, were pitched upon, to mark out the places, on which were planted the limits of Neutrality, the whole extent whereof made a kind of a demi-oval along the *Waal*, comprehending nine Parishes with their dependencies. Nevertheless there remained betwixt the *Menſe* and the *Waal* above a league of ground, which afforded a free passage the parties that came from *Maestricht*, and raise their contributions in the Country of *Maaswal*, which lyes between *Waal* and the *Menſe*.

The *French* Ambassadors on the 10th of September had come to the Table of Sir *Lionel Jenkins*; and had since that made use of the Table of Sir *William Temple* but seeing about the end of October, Sir *William* declared that he would go to no more Table

ble but his own, whether that as Mediator he would thereby affect to appear impartial, though that custom which was observed at the Treaty of *Cologne*, had in it nothing that seemed contrary to the Mediation; or rather that he would avoid the hurry and expence thereof; that manner of living which was begun with much satisfaction, was thereby interrupted, and the Ambassadors met only afterward at the Lodgings of the Ambassadors Ladies, where company usually came.

The Count of *Oxenstierne*, and Monsieur *Oliver Krantz* the Plenipotentiary Ambassadors of *Sweden*, arrived at that time at *Nimueguen*, and gave the *French* Ambassadors notice of their arrival, who went the same day to visit them separately at their Houses, in a Coach with six Horses; but those Ambassadors were not as yet in a condition to render their Visits with the same ceremony.

The Count of *Oxenstierne* is a person whose aspect answers his birth; he is magnificent, though the too great expence he put himself to was the cause that his house was not always well regulated. His indifferent way of carriage, joined to a natural gravity, made many to judge him vain-glorious. His Colleague is a man of learning,
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who writes well in *Latin* and *French*; he hath the reputation to be a man fit for business; he speaks neatly, and loves a retired life. His Train was very neat, and he had fifty Crowns a day from the King his Master; but the Count of *Oxenstierne* had a hundred.

The *Imperialists* and *Spaniards* were not observed as yet to make any hast in coming to *Nimueguen*, notwithstanding the King of *England* urged them to it by his Ministers. *Philipsbourg*, which for want of Ammunition was surrendered in *September*, after it had held out a siege from the beginning of *June*, made them hope that the forces of *Germany* would gain considerable advantages upon the *French*; but the Ambassadors of that Crown about the end of *September* received orders from the King to make known to the Mediators, that his Majesty having by so many advances shewed his forwardness to procure a Peace, he intended to recall them, unless the Ambassadors of the chief Confederate Princes did within a month repair to *Nimueguen* the place of Treaty.

This declaration having been communicated to the Ambassadors of the *States-General*, they gave notice of it to their Masters. Their answer was, That if at or before

fore the first of *November* ensuing the Ministers of the Confederates did not repair to *Nimueguen*, they would begin to treat separately for themselves. But that time being elapsed, they desired two days longer, according to the old stile which is observed in *Guelderland*, and several Provinces of *Germany*, well knowing that the expiration of that term did not draw them into any engagement; for if the *Confederates* made longer delay, they could on all hazards in the reciprocal communication of their Commissions, start difficulties, and find out means to spin out the time as they did, without falling upon business, until the assembly was compleat.

Monsieur *Hoegh* the second Plenipotentiary from *Denmark*, arrived at that time, with his Lady, at *Nimueguen*. He is a handsome Gentleman of a good Family, who rose to that dignity by his good discharge of the several employments he hath enjoyed. He had his Lodgings in a house that was provided for him near the houses of the *French* Ambassadors, because that being the highest place of the Town was the pleasantest also for the accommodation of strangers. So soon as he had given notice of his arrival, he was visited by the Mediators, the Ambassadors of *France*, and so by all the
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rest in Coaches of six Horses, according to the Ceremony. He had of his Master about five hundred pounds a month, which he spent nobly like one that understood the world.

About the middle of *November* my Lord *Barclay* the chief of the Mediators, who came from being Ambassador Extraordinary for *England* in *France*, arrived with his Lady at *Nimueguen*, and after some days being there *incognito* gave notice of his arrival; he was visited by the other Mediators, and immediately after by the three *French* Ambassadors successively, with two Coaches of six Horses apiece.

The Count of *Oxenstierne*, who with urgency demanded audience of my Lord *Barclay*, that he might not as it was believed, be prevented by the Ambassador of *Denmark*, obtained it at three quarters after three; this was to be just after the audience of the Count *d'Avanx*, who that he might lose no time, had servants abroad in the streets to acquaint him immediately when Monsieur *Colbert* should come out from his Audience; so that he went to it punctually at half an hour after three. But hardly was he entered, when my Lord *Barclay* had notice, that the Count of *Oxenstierne* was below in the Court. He bid answer

swer him that he was with the Count *d'Avaux*, and that the Count of *Oxenstierne* was not to have his audience till half an hour after that.

The Ambassador of *Suedeland* who saw no body come to receive him at the foot of the stair, caused his Coachman to drive out gain, without staying for the answer. That action suffered various constructions; for it was alledged that he could not be ignorant but that the Count *d'Avaux* was at his audience. The way to the Lodgings of my Lord *Barclay* was by his back-gate, where some of his servants were observed to be in the streets, and it was not then, but exactly half an hour after three; that if he had been ignorant of it, and had had no other design, in that case he might have come back, having first made a short turn in expectation of the Count *d'Avaux* coming out; or if he pretended that his visit was actually performed, as he did afterwards, he ought to have sent his Colleague to Audience immediately after the Count *d'Avaux*.

Whatever the matter was, whether ignorance, or a laid design, as many did persuade themselves it was, though they could not conceive the policy of that enterprise, the business was taken up by the Mediation of

of the *French* Ambassadors. The Visit was held to be performed, and yet my Lord *Barclay* never render'd it, nor saw the Count of *Oxenstern*, but accidentally, as it were, at *Madam Colberts* Lodgings.

The unexpected Peace concluded between *Poland* and the *Turk*, the advantages that the King of *Sueden* began to gain upon the *Danes* in *Schonen*, by the taking of *Elsinbourg*, and the Succors put into *Malmoe*, the vigorous resistance of the Town of *Stetin*, from before which the Elector of *Brandenbourg* was at that time forced to raise the siege; all that, I say, and besides the progress of the *French* Arms in *Sicily*, made it believed that the Confederates would at length appear more tractable than hitherto they had been.

In the mean time the Count of *Kinsdi*, the second of the Emperors Ambassadors, continued still at *Cologne*, detained, as it was said, by the Gout; and *Don Pedro de Ronquillo*, the second Ambassador from *Spain*, coming from *England*, where he had been but Envoy Extraordinary, stayed still at the *Hague*, expecting the rest of his Equipage from *England*: but being at length arrived at *Nimueguen*, he continued long *incognito*, because having no other character but that of Plenipotentiary, the *French*

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Ambassadors refused to give him the hand.

Monsieur *Somnitz* and *Blaspiel*, the Ambassadors of the Elector of *Brandenbourg*, who had been sometime at *Nimueguen*, on the 29. of *December* gave notice of their arrival. The *French* Ambassadors consulted together, and afterwards with the Mediators, because contrary to what was practised at *Munster*, both the Plenipotentiaries of *Brandenbourg* demanded the hand and title of Excellence. But the *French* Ambassadors would not give it, but to him that was first named in the Commission; and upon occasion of that difficulty, visited them not.

The *English* Mediators made their visit, but with a resolution not to give the title of Excellence save only to Mr. *Somnitz*, nor to demand audience of Mr. *Blaspiel*. However being both lodged in the same house, the second failed not to be at the audience; and the first perceiving that the Mediators addressed their discourse only to him, shewed them his Colleague, giving him the title of Excellence. But they answered, that their visit was only to him. The Ambassador of *Denmark* stuck not at these formalities, having to do with the Ministers of one of the chief of his Masters Allies. But the
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Suedish Ambassadors followed the example of the *French*: So that the Elector of *Brandenbourgs* Ministers found themselves far enough from being able to establish their pretension at *Nimueguen*.

The States General, who payed great Subsidies to the Princes that were confederate with them, began at that time to think of retrenching that great expence; and they thought they had the greater reason, that they needlessly drained their Treasury by the charge of a War, which was now become wholly that of their Confederates; unto which they ought to have no greater concern, than in a publick and common assault.

What glory soever redounded to the States General, in that they could reckon among their Pensioners, the Emperor, King of *Spain*, King of *Denmark*, all the Electors almost, the Princes of *Brunswick*, the Duke of *Newbourg*, and the Bishop of *Munster*; yet that hindered them not from acquainting them with the inability they lay under to continue those great Subsidies, excepting only the Duke of *Newbourg*, in consideration of the new Alliance that he had made with them, and the Bishop of *Munster*, of whose humour and Neighbourhood the States General have been

been always apprehensive. They did not as yet cut off those subsidies; but the *Dutch* Ambassadors declared to the Ministers of their Allies, that they would pay none for the ensuing Campaign, unless they put the *French* in the wrong; that is, if they made it not appear by their refusal of reasonable propositions, that if the peace were not concluded, the *French* were only to be blamed for it.

By this means the *Dutch* stopt their Confederates mouths, they obliged them to hasten the opening of the Conferences, to which no step had hitherto been made; and put themselves in right of complaining of those who for their own private interests desired not to see the War so soon put to an end; and therefore they thought it not enough to speak of cutting off the Subsidies, but began also to hint at a separate and particular Treaty, in such a manner that the Confederates took the alarm the more easily, in that the excessive charges the States General had been at during this War, had been exceeding burdensome to all the Provinces.

The Count of *Kinski* arrived at length at *Nimueguen* the third of *January* 1677. He is a *Bohemian* Gentleman, never before employed in any Embassie; and therefore all his.

his actings were in the beginning full of difficulties and diffidence; but it appeared afterward that he had more sincere intentions for peace than his Colleagues had, with whom he clashed so as not to be reconciled again. He is a valetudnary man, and melancholick, but of great merit and sagacity. He had two thousand *German* Florins a month, which make about three hundred and thirty pounds *English*.

Don Pedro de Ronquillo remained *incognito* above a month; and neither he nor the other Ministers of the Confederates seemed to act with the same frankness and sincerity the *French* did, even in the opinion of my Lord Ambassador *Temple*, who confessed that it was not to be doubted but that the *French* inclined to peace, and that they were like those Gamesters who having won considerably, were willing to leave play if the losers obliged them not to continue.

In the mean time those who examined without passion the present state of affairs, and the interests of most part of the Princes engaged in the War, wonder'd that they would continue it with so great disadvantage, upon hopes that were not too firmly grounded. *Holland* had nothing to gain, and lost much by the excessive charges of the War. The Emperor saw himself

raised to the real height of his greatness by the settling his Authority throughout the whole Empire; but had hardly any means left of procuring Winter-quarters for the Imperial Troops; and most of the Princes of *Germany* were so tired out and incommoded by the War, that it was to be feared his Imperial Majesty might find himself abandoned in time of need. The King of *Spain* had almost all the Powers of *Europe* joyned in his Interests, and could never promise himself such assistance in any other juncture; but what advantage had he from that, seeing notwithstanding the *French* took the best places of the *Low Countreys*: *Cambray* and *Valenciennes* were at that time so straitly blocked up, that it was not doubted but one of those places would be lost before the beginning of the Campaign. None but the Northern Confederates were inclined to the continuation of the War, through the desire of preserving, and even enlarging the Conquests they had made upon *Sueden*. But a Victory obtained by the King of *Sueden* in *Schonen*, made it hopeful that the *Suedes* renewing their courage under so great a Prince, might set their affairs to rights again. Though the *Spaniards* lost most in this War, yet the Ambassadors of that Crown acted with greatest slowness

slowness as to the advancement of the peace. The reason of their procedure in that manner, could be attributed to nothing but the usual irresolution of the *Spaniards*; and yet it was not very easie for them in the present juncture of affairs to determine themselves. The removal of *Valensuela*, the first Minister of State in that Court, and the return of *Don John* to *Madrid*, being supported by all the Nobility of the Kingdom against the Interests of the Queen-Regent, made people fear some dangerous revolution; insomuch that the *Spaniards* abandoned the fate of the *Low Countreys* to the protection of their Confederates. However it might have been said at that time, that a real Lethargy had seized mens minds, and hindered them from applying themselves with care to the means of restoring a solid peace.

In the mean time the *French* were not asleep: That King caused a considerable body of men to march into *Flanders* in the depth of Winter. This struck a terror into the heart of the *Low Countreys*, and gave ground to fear, that his Majesty would next Campaign carry his Conquests far, if the Negotiations at *Nimueguen* did not put a greater stop to them, than the strength of the Confederates was likely todo. But the

Assembly was not as yet formed, neither were the preliminaries to the Peace as yet condescended on.

At that time the *French* Ambassadors had notice given them, that the Count of *Kinski* received the visits of the Ministers of the Confederates, and were surpris'd at that manner of conduct, though it was given out, that they were but private visits among friends, upon occasion of the complements he made to them upon his arrival at *Nimueguen*. However the Mediators understood that complement to be a real notification of his arrival, because that the King of *England* desiring that the Ambassadors should make no publick entry into *Nimueguen*, for avoiding several accidents which such Ceremonies usually produce they ought not neither to give notice of their arrival twice; and therefore they sent presently to desire audience of him next day at two of the clock, for it was then ten of the clock at night. But when it was answered, That the Ambassadors of *Denmark* had pitched upon the same hour, the Ambassadors were so surpris'd, that they would have absolutely refused to visit him had they not been assured that the visit of that Ambassador was only to be private and without ceremony, the Count of *Kinski* protest

protesting that he had not given notice of his arrival to any whosoever. The Mediators pretended that they had received notice, and fixed upon eleven in the morning, instead of two in the afternoon, to render their publick visit, which was received as such, and rendered accordingly.

The *French* Ambassadors desired to have a clear understanding as to the Emperors Ambassador his carriage in that particular; but after that the Mediators had taken much pains to adjust the matter, the *French* found in the conduct of the Count of *Kinski* neither sincerity enough, nor sufficient security, but that some Ambassadors might therefrom draw advantages to the prejudice of that precedency which they pretended to be due to *France*. That Ambassador was indeed willing to have given in writing disowning the first notice that was made of his arrival, he should so carry him- self, that the Ambassadors of *France* might be satisfied; nevertheless, they finished somewhat another manner, and told him, no more of the Ele-

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gave notice of his arrival in the ordinary forms to all the Ambassadors, excepting those of *France*, who would not admit of it, and the Mediators who had already performed that ceremony; and he render'd his visits the last days of *January*, though he was not as yet provided but of two travelling Coaches, nor his servants of Liveries.

About the same time Master *Hide*, Son to the Earl of *Clarendon*, sometime Chancellor of *England*, came to *Nimueguen*, to assist as the second of the four Mediators of his Majesty of *Great Britain*: A fortnight before, he passed through that Town upon his return from his extraordinary Embassie in *Poland*; but instead of a Yacht which he expected at *Rotterdam*, to transport him to *London*, he there received Orders from the King his Master to return to *Nimueguen* having given notice of

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against the accidents which might happen on the like occasions. The Marshal *D' Estrades* gave his Collegues the place in his Coach and at home, except when other Ambassadors were present, and that the dignity of the Ambassy obliged every one to keep his rank. And as for Letters and Dispatches to Court, they so ordered the matter, that each of them should successively undertake it for one week, and all three together sign them.

The King of *England* sent Mr. *Hide* to the Assembly at *Nimueguen*, for no other reason but that he might honour him with the Character of *Plenipotentiary* Ambassador, and have his name inserted in the Treaty of Peace which was to follow upon those new-begun overtures; for his Majesty of *Great Britain* had occasion to employ him elsewhere.

About the end of the same month (*Jan.* 167^e.) the Ambassadors of the Confederates began to meet; and for that purpose they chose an Apartment in the little Town-hall, which is contiguous to, and has passages into the great Hall. It is in that place where the Deputies of the Province of *Gelderland* for the Precincts of *Nimueguen*, do ordinarily meet.

Feb. 1674. The *French* Ambassadors had no sooner notice of these proceedings of the Confederates, but they complained of them to the Ambassadors of the States-General, alledging that in a Neutral Town equally common to all the Ambassadors, some of them could not appropriate to themselves a publick place to the prejudice of the rest, without a breach of the Neutrality. The *Dutch* Ambassadors had good reason to chuse a publick place for Conferences, well knowing that they would be managed with greater liberty there, than at the Houses of the Imperial Ambassadors, who would have affected to be the Dictators. In the mean-time to content the *French* Ambassadors, they gave them the choice of what place they pleased in the great Town-hall; whither they went to pitch upon the place which they found most convenient to meet in when they thought fit; though they being by themselves, and having none to confer with but the Ambassadors of *Sueden*, they needed no such Apartment; and it is probable that if the Ministers of the Confederates had foreseen that the *French* Ambassadors should have disposed of the Town-Hall, they would not have pitched upon the place which they had chosen.

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The most remarkable passage that happened in the Assembly of the Confederates was, that after the Count of *Kinski*, who as Ambassador from the Emperor had taken his place at the upper end of the Table, the Ambassador of *Denmark* contended with the *Spanish* Ambassador for the next place on the right hand; insomuch that *Don Pedro de Ronquillo* was forced to consent to have it only by turns; and for deciding which of the two should have it at their first sitting, they behoved to cast lots for it, whereby it fell to the *Danish* Ambassador. The same difficulty arose betwixt the Ambassadors of the Elector of *Brandenbourg*, and those of the *States-General*, who although they were at home, yet would not yield it; insomuch that this difference was determined in the same manner as the former.

The Forces of the *French* King began already to break into *Flanders*, notwithstanding the coldness of the season; and the talk was, that some considerable siege would be speedily made. On the other side the *French* King put the frontiers of *Germany* out of a condition of being able to furnish provisions to any great Army, with which he was threatned from thence. And the Elector of *Brandenbourg* had lately be-
fore

fore made a Declaration to the Diet at *Ratisbon*, whereby he quashed the hopes that the Confederates had conceived after the death of the Electores, of his joyning his forces with those of the Empire, against the Power of *France*.

That Prince declared, that he never had consented to the War into which the Empire was engaged upon occasion of the *Dutch War*: He protested he was so far from contributing to it on his part, that he had Twenty thousand men in readiness to act against those that should refuse a Peace; and that he would punctually observe the Treaties of *Westphalia*, on which the safety and repose of the Empire depended. Which was a sufficient Declaration in favour of *France*, that seemed to demand no more in *Germany*.

The twentieth of *February* Mr. *Stratman*, the third of the Emperors Ambassadors, arrived at *Nimeguen*, at which time all the difficulties that were started about the communication of the Plenary Commissions, began to be determined; and no better expedient could be found to effect this, than to reduce all the Plenary Commissions into one and the same form as to the material and essential words, according to the stile and use of the Chancery of *France*.

France. The five chief Confederates, to wit, the Emperor, King of *Spain*, King of *Denmark*, *States of Holland*, and the Elector of *Brandenbourg*, desired that in respect of them severally, the *French* Ambassadors might have five particular Commissions. But the *French* would only procure two, one for treating with the Catholick Princes, in which the Mediation of the Pope was mentioned; and the other for the Protestant Princes who owned not that Mediation; and they absolutely refused to present one for the Elector of *Brandenburgh*, lest that all the other Princes of the Empire should pretend to the like. But upon promise that no other Commission should be demanded, the *French* Ambassadors judging it the interest of the King their Master to treat separately with the Confederates, they were not so stiff in that matter, and the rather especially that they might thwart the Count of *Kinski*, who would have managed the interests of all the Confederates, and deprived them of the liberty of acting by themselves.

The *Danish* Ambassador was the most scrupulous about these Plenary Commissions; he stood upon the giving of his in the *Danish* language, if he must have that of the *French* in *French*; or that if he gave his

is in Latin, he pretended that the *French* Ambassadors should give him theirs in the same language. He alledged that the King his Master stood not on the same foot as heretofore, and that he might very well challenge a right of establishing a new custom. But the *Danes* got nothing by this, they were fain to condescend to the old way, which is that the *French* Ministers speak to them in French, and that they answer them in Latin.

On the 3^d of *March* 167³. all the Ambassadors gave in their propositions of peace to the Mediators, whereby the pretensions of all the powers concerned in the war were made known; and on the 5th they were interchanged by the Mediators.

The Emperors propositions were, that the King and Kingdom of *France* should restore to the Emperour and the Empire, and to all the Confederates, all that had been taken from them; that they should have reparation for all damages that they had suffered, and that peace should be re-established upon the best and surest grounds that possibly could be devised.

France proposed to the Emperour and Empire, that the King having not desired any thing more passionately than the religious obser-

observation of the Treaties of *Westphalia* his Majesty would gladly see *Germany* a second time owe the restitution of its repose to the observation of the same Treaties; and for that effect his Majesty demanded that they might be fully and intirely re-established.

Spain demanded that *France* would wholly restore whatever had been taken in the Kingdoms of *Spain* since the year 1665. That all Ammunition and Artillery taken either by Sea or Land, should be rendered back again: That all places ruined, demolished, or burnt, should be repaired: That the *French* King should give compleat satisfaction to all the Confederates: And by three different Articles *Spain* demanded the same thing of *Sueden*.

France said, That the King being contrary to Justice, and the obligation of the Treaty of *Aix la Chapel*, attacqued by the Catholick King, his Majesty had reason to pretend that in respect of that Crown, all things should remain in the condition that the fortune of War had put them into, without prejudice to his Majesties Rights, which were to continue still in full force and power.

The *Danes* pretended that *France* should give them compleat satisfaction, and reimburse

burse all the charges of the War : and by four Articles they demanded of the *Suedes*, that betwixt the two Kingdoms and two Kings, all things should be restored into the same condition as they were before the War that was ended by the Treaties of *Westphalia* ; and that the Treaties of *Rochilde* and *Copenhagen* should be abolished ; and that all the Provinces which had been dismembred from *Denmark* and *Norway*, should be restored to the *Danes* ; that all that the *Suedes* posselt in the Empire, should be taken from them ; that *Wisnar* and the *Isle of Rugen* should remain in possession of the *Danes* ; and that for the security of his *Danish* Majesty and Kingdoms, they might put Garisons in all the strong places of *Sueden* that lye upon the frontiers of the two Kingdoms.

The propositions of *France* in reference to the *Danes* were, That seeing the King had not declared War against the King of *Denmark*, but he runs contrary to the Treaty of *Copenhagen* made in the year 1660. for performance whereof the King was Guarantee ; the King of *Denmark* had attacqued *Sueden* : His most Christian Majesty was ready to desist from hostility on his part, provided that the aforesaid Treaties and those of *Westphalia* were re-established.

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Treaty at Nimueguen. 35

In respect of *France* and *Sueden*, the States General demanded, That *Maestricht*, *Dalen*, *Fangumont*, and all the dependencies of *Maestricht*, should be restored to them: That they were willing for the publick peace to sacrifice the inestimable losses, whereof they might pretend reparation; and that for avoiding all differences for the future, the Treaty might contain a general and particular renuntiation of all sorts of pretensions.

There were afterward sixteen Articles concerning the full satisfaction to be made to the Prince of *Orange* in regard of what depended on the Crown of *France*; and particularly the restauration of the fortifications of *Orange*, that were ruined in the year 1660. and of the Castle demolished in the year 1663. the rights of Toll upon Salt and other Commodities, as well upon the *Rone*, as through the Principality of *Orange*; the rights of Coyning of money, of Laick Patronage for nomination to the Bishoprick; the exemptions, priviledges, and other Immunities granted to the inhabitants of that Principality by the Kings his Majesties Predecessors, and particularly by *Lewis XIII.*

The *Estates General* demanded nothing of *Sueden*, but that the future Treaty might

contain some regulations for obviating the frequent inconveniences that happened concerning Commerce.

France proposed to the *States General*, That seeing the Union that hath always been betwixt the Crown of *France* and the *States*, was only interrupted upon account of some causes of discontent, which were easie at present to be removed, and to be prevented for the future; His Majesty was willing to restore the *States General* to his former amity, and to hearken favourably to all propositions that might be made to him on their part, even concerning a Treaty of Commerce. And as to the propositions made for the re-establishment of the Prince of *Orange*, the *French* Ambassadors made an answer to them; but upon occasion opposed the pretensions of the Count *D' Auvergne*, demanding that his Marquisate and Town of *Bergen-op-zoom* might be restored to all the rights of Sovereignty which the other Towns of *Holland* enjoyed conform to the Treaties of Pacification of *Ghent*.

The Elector of *Brandenburgh* demanded that *France* should make reparation for the damages that his Territories had sustained by the *French* Forces during the course of this War, that all security should be given him

him for the future for the same Territories, and that all his Allies should be comprehended in a general Treaty.

France made no propositions to the Elector of *Brandenbourg* besides those that were made to the Emperor and Empire, which comprehended the full performance of the Treaties of *Westphalia*.

In all the propositions that the *Suedes* made to the Emperor, the Kings of *Spain* and *Denmark*, the *States General*, and to the Elector of *Brandenbourg*, they demanded of the one but the renovation of their former amity and good correspondence, and of the others the execution of the Treaties of *Westphalia* and *Copenhagen*, which contained the restitution of all that had been taken from that Crown.

Prince *Charles* of *Lorrain*, to whom the *French* King had granted the title of Duke, with a general protestation made to the Mediators, that the titles taken or given should be without prejudice, caused his propositions to be made, by which he said, That as heir to his Predecessors, he hoped from the Justice of the King that he would restore to him his Dutchies of *Lorrain* and *Bar*, with their dependencies, his titles, records, movables, and effects taken from him, and make reparation for the Towns,

Burroughs, Castles and Villages that were ruined throughout all his Dominions.

But seeing the Ministers of the Confederates would not admit of the *Sieur Duker*, the Envoy of the Bishop of *Strasbourg*, whom the *French King* reckoned among the Confederate Princes, the *French Ambassadors* made no propositions concerning *Lorraine*, nor shewed any Plenary Commission for treating about the Interests of that Prince (though much urged to it by the Confederates) that by this means they might oblige the Imperialists to own the Minister of the Bishop of *Strasbourg*.

On the other side, the propositions of the Duke of *Holstein Gottorp*, which the *Sieurs Ulkens* and *Wetterkop*, that Princes Envoys, had put into the hands of the Mediators, lay there without answer or being interchanged, because the *Danish Ambassador* hindred the Minister of that Prince from being admitted, as being an Ally of *Sueden*, and protected by *France*, and upon that account dispossessed of his Territories by the King of *Denmark*.

The Propositions of the Dukes of *Brunswick* and *Lunenbourg* were not made publick, because the Ministers of those Princes kept *incognito*, pretending to the character and rank of Ambassadors; yea, and

and these Princes wrote to the King of *England* for obtaining the effect of their Pretensions : but what instance soever they made during the whole course of the Negotiation, no Crowned head yielded to their demand.

I have here but inserted the substance of the first propositions of Peace ; yet thereby may be seen how unreasonable the demands of *Spain* and *Denmark* were, seeing that not only the Mediators, but even the Ambassadors of the States General thought them exorbitant.

The sixth of this Month Monsieur *Stratman* gave the *French* Ambassadors notice of his arrival ; who at the same time sent each of them a Secretary, to make him their complement, and demand audience, either the same morning, or immediately after dinner. But he excused himself, saying that he had a business of great importance to dispatch that day with an Envoy of the Elector of *Cologne*, concerning urgent affairs of his Imperial Majesty, and appointed them six of the clock at night. The *French* Ambassadors began then to doubt of the sincerity of his conduct towards them, and they could not imagin what pretext he

could have. It is true, the Gentleman that made the complement to the *French* Ambassadors in the name of Mr. *Stratman*, had waited sometime at the lodgings of the Count *D' Avaux*, where at that time they were all three together ; but the time was but short, and the Ambassadors saw very well that Mr. *Stratman* failed in what was due to their Character, though he assured them that he had sent his Secretary to them, and that he had taken all the measures that he conceived necessary to give them all manner of satisfaction. Whatever the matter was, the great affair that Mr. *Stratman* pretended to be for the important concerns of the Emperor, was no more indeed but that he might have leisure at two of the clock to receive the visit of the Ambassador of *Denmark*, and at four of the clock that of the first Ambassador of *Sueden*.

The *French* Ambassadors caused all the circumstances of Mr. *Stratman*'s conduct to be observed : nevertheless they made their visit all three together at six of the clock at night, with seven Coaches and six Horses a piece, a great number of servants in Livery, and Flambeaux ; insomuch that there had not as yet so splendid a Train been seen at *Nimueguen*. These Ambassadors intended to put Monsieur *Stratman* in the wrong ;

wrong; they knew very well that the real distinction of preference is not to be made according to the order that visits are given in, but according to the order they are rendered by those who have received them: as to that, they expected to see how Mr. *Stratman* would carry towards them, that they might thereupon take their measures with him.

It was above a fortnight before Mr. *Stratman* put himself in a condition of rendering any visit; during which time he pretended an indisposition. That delay could not be attributed to any thing but the expectation of a Courier, by whom it was said he was to be instructed how to behave himself in prospect of the inconveniences which he expected to meet with on the part of the *French* Ambassadors, if he gave not to that Crown the preference which it hath always pretended to. In the meantime he made an apology for that delay in a Letter which he wrote to the Marshal *D' Estrades*, imputing it to an indisposition that had seized him. The *French* Ambassadors sent a Gentleman to make him a complement, and condole with him about his sickness: To whom he answered, That he hoped suddenly to be in a condition to come and thank them for their civility.

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No man doubted but that Monsieur *Stratman* found himself in some perplexity, and that he was very sensible how hard a task it would be for him to go on as he had begun, without exposing himself to troublesome consequences. He perceived how the *French* Ambassadors had deputed themselves towards the Count of *Kinski*, who would have observed a particular way of conduct as to them. He understood that the *French* Ambassadors would refuse his visit, if he failed in giving them the preference ; and he was ignorant, that if his procedure should deprive him of the opportunity of seeing the Ambassadors during the whole time of the Treaty, it might be a considerable prejudice and obstacle to the peace.

At length the 22. Mr. *Stratman* sent to demand audience of the Marshal *D' Estrades*, but not till he had visited the first Ambassador of *Sueden*, and sent in formality to demand audience of the *Danish* Ambassador, who was not then in Town. The *French* Ambassadors had agreed among themselves about the answer that was to be given to the Gentleman that should demand audience ; so that so soon as he had made his complement, the Marshal *D' Estrades* told him, that Mr. *Stratman* knew not what

was due to the King his Master, and his Ambassadors, and that therefore he would not admit of his visit. Mr. *Stratman* was not willing to expose himself to the receiving of the same answer from the other *French* Ambassadors, and therefore did not send unto them. He expected, indeed, that the *French* would shew some discontent; but as being Ambassador from the Emperor, he looked not for an answer of that nature. That Minister is a learned man, and writes well both in *Latin* and *French*. He hath always adhered to the Bishop of *Gurck*, and opposed the Count of *Kinski*. He was preferred to the Emperor from the service of the Duke of *Nembourg*, at that time when the Emperor married the daughter of that Prince.

All the discourse at *Nimueguen* at this time, was of the great achievements that the Confederates pretended they would do in this Campaign. The Elector of *Brandenbourg* was come into the Countrey of *Cleves* to order affairs there; this Countrey being daily threatned by the *Cart* *Maestricht*, to oblige the inhabitants to pay the Contributions that were laid upon them. The Elector was detained by the Gout at *Ham*, four leagues beyond *Wesel*, whither the Ambassador of *Denmark* was gone

gone to visit him, and whither many other of the Confederate Ministers were to go. The Prince of *Orange* was set out to come to that Assembly, which was called the Great Council of War. But the news of the siege of *Valenciennes*, and the urgent instances of the Duke de *Villa Hermosa*, for succors from the States General, made the Prince of *Orange* alter his course, broke up the Diet at *Ham*, and for some time discontinued the measures of the Confederates.

In the mean time the difficulties that hindered the *French* Ambassadors from visiting those of the Emperor and Elector of *Brandenbourg*, produced sad effects, and might have put a stop to the cause of the Negotiation that was begun, had not their pretensions been so well grounded as they were. The Ambassadors of *Brandenbourg* published a printed Paper, to prove that their Master had right, and was in possession of sending and having admitted several Ambassadors into one and the same Assembly; they endeavoured to give instances of it taken from the Relations that Abbot *Ciry* printed of the Transactions which passed at the Treaties of *Munster* and *Osnabrug*. However that made nothing to their advantage. They denied those matters of fact that

that made against their pretensions, which are related in the Memoirs of Mr. *Chanut*, as well as the late instances of the Assembly at *Frankfort*, at the Coronation of the Emperor; and they insisted particularly on the conduct that Monsieur *Colbert* held at *Cleves*, towards three Ambassadors of the Elector, whom he treated equally and without distinction.

The last instance signified nothing for confirmation of their pretension. Mr. *Colbert* at that time had only the character of Envoy Extraordinary for mediating the differences that were at that time betwixt the States General and the Bishop of *Munster*; and Monsieur *Colbert* being in the Electors Countrey, it was not his part to raise any dispute upon that head.

The Ambassadors of the Emperor complained also of the publick refuse which the *French* made of the visit of Mr. *Stratman*. The cause of those misunderstandings was imputed to the *Spaniards*, who finding themselves always thwarted in the equality which they so strongly pretend to with *France*, contend not for it with other Crowns, to the end they may unite them all, and so oppose themselves with greater force to the precedency which *France* claims, or at least to disturb it as much as they can,
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in the possession of an advantage which they cannot obtain for themselves.

There was an innovation made at *Nimueguen* of what was practised at *Cologne* in regard of the Mediators, to whom in that quality all the Powers had granted the precedence in the affairs that concerned the Mediation. And the Mediators on their parts being desirous to prevent all occasions of quarrels, which frequently happen upon occasion of Livery-men, especially when many of different Nations meet together in one place, perswaded all the Ambassadors in the first place to command their Pages and Lacqueys to wear no swords; which was punctually observed. And seeing most of the streets of *Nimueguen* are so narrow, that two Coaches can hardly pass a breast, the Mediators drew up a writing to be signed by all the Ambassadors, by means whereof they did sufficiently obviate all the inconveniences which were to be feared during the Treaty.

That writing bore, That in consideration of the narrowness of the streets, when two Coaches going contrary ways should meet, that Coach which should be least advanced into the street, should put back, without any consequence to be drawn therefrom, or prejudice to any ones pretensions; that he
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that should most punctually obey that order, should be held to be the most inclined towards the peace; the matter being thus concerted for no other end, but for avoiding all occasions of quarrelling, and to keep those who laboured for the restauration of the publick repose, in good intelligence together.

The *French* Ambassadors were the first who signed that writing, the *Swedish* did the like, and the *Danish* Ambassadors followed their example: but the matter went no farther, so that it was to be feared that some unhappy accident might afterwards happen amongst so many Ambassadors; but the order that was made for preventing any disorder amongst servants, was punctually put in execution.

There happened at that time long debates concerning the manner of treating about the affairs of the peace, and that matter was not easily adjusted: all the Confederates were for having it managed only by writing.

The *French* Ambassadors maintained, that having given in their first propositions in writing, the way of treating by word of mouth with the Mediators was the shortest. The Confederates would not condescend to this, but made very long answers in writing

ting to the *French* propositions, which seem'd rather invectives than answers to the proposals of peace. But the *French* waving all these disputes, which produce always strife, gave their answers verbally by the Mediators. The *Dutch* were the first that approved this method, and all the Confederates at length yielded to this way of treating, as the most expedient for dispatching in a short time.

Don Pedro de Ronquillo continued still incognito at *Nimueguen*, whither *Mr. Christa* arrived on the 18th of *March*. This Third Ambassador of *Spain* is a *Fleming*, Doctor in the Laws, and Counciller in the *Flemish* Council in *Spain*, who hoped to have the Office of Chancellour of *Brabant*, in recompence of his services. In the mean time the News of the siege of *Valenciennes*, before which the King came the first of this Month, made all people very impatient to know the success of that enterprize, it being known what care and circumspection had been taken for the preserving of that place; but the news that came of the Trenches being opened the Ninth in the night time, was quickly followed with the taking of the place on the 17th about Nine in the morning.

The manner of taking *Valenciennes*, surprized all men, and daunted the *Spaniards*. The King commanded the Counter-scarp to be attacqued with two Half moons that flanked a Crowned work, and that they should lodg on the front of that work, which covers another that is before the Gate of the Town. But the Kings forces marching cross those Half-moons, attacqued that great Crowned-work on the front and sides, and entered it on all hands, killed or made Prisoners all that opposed them, and pursuing those that saved themselves in the Town, gained the Bridg and second Work, and by a Wicket where they could not pass but one after another, they made themselves masters of the Town-gate; so that in less than half an hour the King saw a place of that consequence taken by force.

April 1677, The Confederates hoped that the siege of *Valenciennes* begun in so bad a season, would have ruined a great part of the Kings forces; but that Conquest with others that were foreseen would follow, much disheartened them. Nevertheless the Treaty of Peace went on but very slowly for all that. The Confederates grounded their hopes on the great Exploits that the *German* Forces were to perform in *Alsatia*, and on the Declaration of *England*,
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which they expected in their favours, not doubting but that the Parliament would sollicite the King to join with them for opposing the progress of the *French*; but the Confederates at that time found themselves much disappointed in their Expectations.

The two Houses of Parliament represented to the King of *England* the necessity of putting a stop to the progress that the *French* made in the *Low-countries*. The King answered those that made him the Address from the Parliament, That it was the thing he had in his thoughts, and that he should take care that the *French* should not be in a condition of giving jealousy to his Subjects, and that his Subjects should have no cause to have any. His Majesty of *Great Britain* was afterwards informed, that *Don Bernardo de Salinas*, Envoy from *Spain*, gave it out, that his Majesty had called the Authors of that Address Rogues. The procedure of that Minister so much the more offended the King of *England*, as that in so nice a juncture, it might have produced dangerous effects in his Kingdoms; and therefore he sent orders to *Don Pedro de Salinas* to keep within doors, and to make ready to depart out of the Kingdom within twenty days.

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The Ambassadors in the mean time remained at *Nimueguen* like Spectators; and all that was done there, was to consider and observe what passed in the *Low countries*, where after the taking of *Valenciennes*, the King made himself Master of *Cambray* on the third of *April*, five days after the Trenches were opened, the Governour with the whole Garrison having retreated into the Cittadel; and the Duke of *Orleans* who till then had only held *St. Omer* blocked up, caused at the same time the Trenches to be opened. But upon notice that the Prince of *Orange* marched with a great Army to the relief of *St. Omer*, the King detached from his Army the Marshal of *Luxembourg* with Eight Battalions, the two Troops of his Musquetiers, and some Dragoons, reserving only so many of his forces as were necessary for forcing the Cittadel of *Cambray*.

This Detachment came in the nick of time to strengthen the Duke of *Orleans* his Army; for on the eleventh the two Armies engaged near to *Mont-cassel*, and had a sharp dispute; but after a vigorous resistance made by the *Dutch-Infantry*, the *French* got the day, and the *Dutch* in that defeat lost eight thousand men that wert killed or made Prisoners, many Colours, eight pieces of Cannon, two mortar-pieces, all their

gross Baggage, and many Waggon's laden with Arms and Ammunition for the relief of *St. Omers*, which was the chief fruit of the Battel.

The news of that victory, the taking of *Cambray* on the eighteenth, and of *St. Omers* on the twentieth, stunned the Confederates, and so many Conquests in six weeks time, and before the usual time of the Campaign, made the *Spaniards* despair of being able to preserve any thing in *Flanders*, if peace did not put a stop to those progresses; but that which troubled them most, was, that by these Conquests they lost all the Contributions which they raised on the Frontiers of *France*, and which was the surest way they had to pay the small Army that they entertained in the *Low countries*.

In the mean time the Elector of *Brandenburg* being come to *Wesel*, there was a great Conference held there concerning the Enterprises which the *German* forces were to undertake in three several places. The Ambassadour of *Denmark* went thither from *Nimwegen*, the Pensioner *Fagel*, and Admiral *Van Trump* were there for the *States-General*; the Envoys of the Electors of *Cologne*, *Treves*, *Palatine*, of the Princes of *Brunswick* and Bishop of *Munster*, were also at that Council of War, and the Duke of

of *Nembourg* was there in person. But the great advantages that the *French King* had just then obtained, diverted the designs which the Confederates had again formed upon *Maestricht* and *Lorrain*.

Many were perswaded that the loss which the *Dutch* had then sustained, would incline them to treat about a separate Peace; if the *States-General* were as desirous of it as the people; and all that wished well to the publick, seemed impatient to see themselves delivered from so troublesome a War. They could not have a better pretext for it, than the loss of the battel of *Mont-cassel*, and the sudden return of the *Heer Beverning*, who upon that news came presently back to *Nimueguen*, confirm'd the conjecture that some had of a particular accommodation betwixt *Holland* and *France*. That Ambassador appeared always so zealous for the real interest of his Countrey, that if there was any separate Treaty to be expected, it could no ways be managed but by his means; and if different interests had not always divided the *States-General*, it would not have been long before they had broken off from the Confederates, whose hopes daily vanished, though they could not resolve to save themselves from the misfortunes of War by a good Peace, which

appeared to the *Dutch* to be the most speedy and safe way to remedy the present Evils, and prevent those wherewith they were threatned.

After this short, but no inglorious Campaign, the *French* King dispersed his Forces into quarters of refreshment; and being at *Dunkirk*, sent the Duke of *Crequi* to compliment the King of *England*, and to carry him a Letter, whereby his Majesty declared, That though his willingness to come to peace did not at all promote the conclusion thereof; yet he was ready, amidst the prosperities wherewith Heaven was pleased to favour him, to consent to a general Truce for some years, as the surest means of restoring tranquility to *Europe*, provided that the King of *Sueden* was of the same mind. And seeing his Majesty could have no free correspondence with that Prince, he prayed the King of *England* to inform himself of his intentions, not doubting but that he was sufficiently persuaded of the sincere desire he had to second the good offices of his Mediation, yea and to contribute all that in him lay, for the procuring of a General Peace, though he might have ground to expect considerable advantages from his Armies.

In the mean time it was the common discourse that the *French* King did but make formal demonstrations of desiring a Peace, whilst he found himself so successful, and so powerful, as to make himself Master of all the *Low-Countries*; that if he did really consent to a Truce, he must either think himself too weak to bear up against the efforts that were preparing to be made against him in *Germany* and *Catalonia*, or that he intended some enterprise into which they could not dive. Some gave out, that the *French* King's Letter was but a politick fetch, whereby he gave occasion to the King of *England* to wave the Declaration which his Parliament so urgently solicited; and that the condition of the King of *Sweden*'s consent would be always a sure pretext to stave off the proposition of the Truce, whenever *France* thought it convenient.

The same day (*May 1677.*) that that Letter was brought to *Nimueguen*, the *Dutch* Ambassadors having demanded audience of the *French*, came all to the House of the Marshal *D'Esstrades*, whither they brought the project of a Treaty of Commerce, the Articles of which were extracted out of the last Treaties which they made with *France*. But the people said publicly,

That that was but to amuse them to no purpose ; that it was much better to conclude a Treaty of Peace than a Treaty of Commerce. The *States General* in the mean time sent three hundred thousand Crowns to the Prince of *Orange* to raise recruits for their Forces ; publishing, that the loss they had sustained at *Mont Cassel*, should not hinder them from rigging out a Fleet which they designed for the assistance of *Sicily* and *Denmark*.

The Confederates nevertheless began to take umbrage at the Negotiation of the *Dutch* ; the disposition they found the *Sieur Beverning* in to treat separately, gave them the greater cause of fear, in that *that* Minister ceased not to press them, and to complain of their slow proceedings. And the Duke of *Zell* finding himself solicited to send five thousand men to join the Confederate Army, as he had done the year before, he made some difficulty, and demanded of the *States-General* an hundred thousand Crowns, and as much from the *Spaniards* ; and insisted upon this, That the Emperor would cause the title and rank of Ambassadors to be given to the Ministers which the House of *Brunswick* should send to *Nimueguen*. These conditions gave ground to suspect that that Prince, and some others
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of *Germany*, had not the same disposition to promote the common cause. In effect they sufficiently perceived that they were engaged farther than they would have desired; which made the *Spaniard* fear, that if they accepted a Truce, they might in a short time be abandoned by the greatest part of their Confederates.

On the fifth of *May* the news came by Letters from *England*, that the Session of Parliament was broken up the 26. of the foregoing Month, and that the King was fully satisfied with them, though no Act had passed contrary to the Interests of *France*; but that his Majesty of *Great Britain* had adjourned them till the 27 of *May*, to consider of such means as might give a new countenance to the present affairs. There came news also which gave some content, that the first Ambassadors of the Emperor and King of *Spain*, were shortly to come with the Popes Nuncio to *Nimueguen*, where all affairs were at a stand, because the Count of *Kinsky* had not yet agreed but on preliminaries, until the coming of the Bishop of *Gurk*, the chief of the Imperial Embassy.

The President, Canon, Envoy and Plenipotentiary from the Duke of *Lorraine*, being come to *Nimueguen* on the 25th of *May*,

May, payed a visit to the three *French* Ambassadors in one of the Coaches of *Don Pedro de Ronquillo*, who remained still *incognito*. *Mr. Spanheim*, who was at *Nimueguen* about the affairs of the Elector Palatine, visited also the same Ambassadors, who returned the Visits without any ceremony; seeing this last had had the quality of Envoy in other Negotiations, it was not doubted but that he carried the same character in this; but it appeared afterward that he had only Credential Letters from his Master; and therefore the Confederates would not admit him into their Conferences.

About this time the Elector of *Brandenbourg* wrote to the King of *England* concerning the Injustice that he pretended was done to his Ambassadors by *France*; and the matter, said he, touched him the more sensibly, that the decision of that difficulty was left to his Enemies, without doing the Justice which was due to him; and that he expected it from his Majesty of *Britain*, without which he would be obliged to recall his Ambassadors from *Nimueguen*. But that Letter, and all the instances that were made upon that subject, had no effect as to *France*, which had not the same reasons as *England* had to condescend

scend to those new pretensions.

On the first day of *June*, 1677. Seignior *Beliagua*, who had been Nuncio extraordinary at the Emperor's Court, to incline him to contribute to the peace of Christendom, arrived at *Nimueguen* by water from *Cologne*, and came to the house that was prepared for him near the French Ambassadors; the scarcity of convenient Houses not permitting him who was sent before, to follow the express Orders he had, to chuse a house in some part of the Town which might be equally distant from the *French* and *Spaniards*, that he might give no cause of jealousy to either of those two Nations.

The arrival of a Mediator so disinterested as the Uncle of his Holiness ought to be, gave hopes that his Mediation would much contribute to the promoting of the Peace, because of the confidence that the chief parties concerned reposed on him. Seignior *Beliagua* is of a very noble Family in *Ferrara*, and rich in estate; he is Patriarch of *Alexandria*, and was Governour of *Rome* in the reign of *Clement IX.* nor was that charge taken from him under *Clement X.* his Successor, but in exchange for the extraordinary Nunciature of *Vienna*, from whence

whence he was sent Mediator to *Nimueguen* by *Innocent XI.* who at present fills the Holy See. Although the allowance of great Nuncio's exceed not 370. *Roman* Crowns a month, and that he was not well paid, his Train was nevertheless splendid, and his House well ordered. His civil and familiar carriage gained him the affection of all people; and his good intentions towards the Peace, made him to be equally respected by all the Ambassadors.

Next day after his arrival, the *French* Ambassadors sent three Gentlemen together, to testify the joy they had for his happy arrival, and to offer him all the civilities they were able to perform, impatiently expecting a fit time to come and salute him in person. The three Gentlemen were received by the Nuncio according to the custom of *Italy*, in the Chamber of Audience, upon three elbow-chairs. They spoke covered, and were conducted by the Nuncio as far as the dore of the outer anti-chamber that looked into the Court. The same honour was done to the Gentleman that render'd that compliment on his part; and the day following after noon the three Ambassadors of *France* went severally to visit the Nuncio *incognito* and on foot, his house being distant but a few steps from thence; yet

yet they were followed by all their servants. The Emperors Ambassadors were there also in the morning *incognito*.

On the fifth of *June*, the Nuncio gave notice of his arrival to the two Ambassadors of the Emperor, who had their publick audience at five of the clock afternoon; and to the *French* Ambassadors, who visited him at seven of the clock, with a train of seven Coaches and six horses a piece. The Towns-people were very curious to see such ceremonies, but much more for this, being impatient to see how a Nuncio of the Pope looked. The Purgomasters of the Town, and a great number of other persons placed themselves in the Windows of the Neighbouring houses to see him at his gate, whilst he received and re-conducted the Ambassadors to their Coaches. He was in a plain long purple habit lined with scarlet, and carried a Cross of Diamonds; but he was cloathed commonly in a short habit. No body wondered at the curiosity of that people, seeing it was a very extraordinary thing to see a Pope's Nuncio in a Protestant Town. The Countrey people, both Protestant and Catholick, came flocking to *Nimueguen* for that end; these found their spiritual consolation, and those satisfied the great curiosity they had to see an
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Ambassador sent from the Pope, of whom their Minifters give them an hideous description.

The Burgomasters of *Nimueguen*, in confideration of the neutrality of the Town, and of the Negotiation of fo great a work as that of a general Peace, vifited the Nuncio, and offered him all they could do for the free exercife of the Catholick Religion; but he was fatisfied to have a large Chappel only in his houfe, whither Catholicks might freely come, as they did to the *French* Ambassadors Chappel, where fervice was performed on Festival-days with all the folemnity that is ufual in Parifh-Churches, having even placed a Bell in the top of a Tower, which was heard over a great part of the Town.

Some days before the arrival of the Nuncio, a Jefuit belonging to the Family of *Don Pedro de Ronquillo*, went about the ftreets in the habit of his Order; this feemed fo ftrange a thing, that it ftrired up the curiofity of all the people; and therefore the Magiftrates fearing left fuch Novelties might occafion fome diforder, published next day an Order under the pain of corporal punifhment, That no body fhould fay or do any thing to any perfon whatfoever, whatever Ecclefiaftical habit they fhould

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see them wear. But Don *Pedro de Ronquillo* thought it not fit that that Jesuit should appear any more abroad in that manner. The Nuncio himself left two Capucins of his household at *Cleves*, and suffered them not to come until he was assured that they should enjoy a full liberty.

Don *Paolo Spinola Doria*, *Marquess de los Balbases*, first Ambassador of *Spain*, arrived at *Nimueguen* the 4th of *June*; and seeing he came from *Germany*, he took passage down the *Rhine*, as the Nuncio had done. That Ambassador is a *Genoese*, a Grandee of *Spain*, and Grandchild to the great *Spinola*; he hath been General of the Cavalry of *Milain*, and since Governour of that State for a time: He came from the Extraordinary Embassy of *Vienna*, where he had continued seven years. He is a tall lean man, most civil, and well bred, and married the Sister of the Constable of *Colonna*. Their eldest daughter is married to one *Spinola*, Duke of *St. Peter*, one of the richest Gentlemen in *Italy*, and who lived at *Nimueguen* until the conclusion of the Treaty. This Ambassador had another Daughter with him, married by Proxy to the Marquess *Quintana*, Son to the President of *Castile*. He had likewise an only Son ten years old, who was called Duke of *Sesto*. This great

great Family made a very numerous Train; yet among so many servants, there were not above five or six native *Spaniards*.

When the *French* Ambassadors came to *Nimueguen*, finding that the Catholics, though under the Diocess of the Bishop of *Ruremond*, followed the old stile, according to the practice of *Guelderland*, they resolved likewise to conform to it. The Catholics of the Countrey have a dispensation so to do, to the end they may celebrate *Easter*, and the chief Festivals of the year, at the same time the Protestants do, and not appear singular in a Countrey where they are with much pain and difficulty suffered. The *French* Ambassadors followed the same stile, that they might not seem to make a kind of Schism betwixt themselves and the Catholics of the Town, and that their Chappel where five or six Masses were said a day, might serve for the devotion of the Catholick people.

The Imperial and *Spanish* Ambassadors did not at first conform to that stile; but the Nuncio resolved at *Cologn* to follow it, and even kept the Rogations at *Nimueguen* according to that custom. Nevertheless next day about ten of the clock at night, he sent to acquaint the French Ambassadors, That he was to observe the New Stile

Stile, according to which the next day was the Vigil of *Pentecost*. The Ambassadors sent the Nuncio back word, That having taken the Old Stile upon very pressing considerations, and particularly that they might conform themselves to the Orders of the Bishop to whom the Catholicks of the place were subject, they could not leave it off. The Nuncio made answer, That it was not his intention to oblige any body, and that what he did concerned only his own Family. Nevertheless he altered his opinion eight days after. The *Imperial* and *Spanish* Ambassadors, and all the Ministers of the Catholick Princes, followed the example of the *French* Ambassadors, and all the Chapels observed only one stile.

At that time the Nuncio rendered his visits of ceremony to the *Imperial* and *French* Ambassadors on one and the same day. The *French* met at the house of the Marshal *D' Estrades* to receive him, resting satisfied with that single visit, instead of having each of them one, as the Nuncio offer'd, though he afterward saw them severally. His Train made a great show; he had three Coaches with six horses, and many servants in Livery, cloathed after the *Roman* fashion, with hanging sleeves, some laced all over, and others of Velvet with long cloaks.

But all the other Ambassadors had their Equipage after the *French Mode*.

My Lord *Barclay* having at that time obtained leave to return to *England* by reason of his age and indisposition, parted from *Nimueguen* the fifth of *June*. The truth is, the Negotiation was at such a stand, that there was no discourse of any affairs then, and both Mediators and Ambassadors had time to play. At the same time news came from *England*, that the Parliament being assembled the fourth of *June*, had made a pressing Address to his Majesty of *Great Britain*, to incline him to make a League offensive and defensive with the States of the *United Provinces*, for opposing the progress of the *French Conquests*.

The King was displeased at this Address, and made them answer, ' That it did invade
' so essential a Prerogative of the Crown,
' that the like had never been done but during the Civil Wars. That it did not belong
' to the Parliament to prescribe to him what
' kind of Leagues, and far less with whom
' he should make them. That it seemed rather that he should engage in it by their
' permission, than at their solicitation. That
' foreign Princes might have cause to doubt
' whether the Sovereignty was in his person, and refuse to treat for the future with
' a King

‘a King that had only the bare name. In a
‘word, that he could not suffer that prero-
‘gative to be invaded, which no confide-
‘ration should ever make him to renounce,
‘seeing it was the foundation of the Crown
‘and Government. And hereupon he dismissed the Parliament without having obtained from them the Supplies he demanded for procuring the satisfaction and safety of his subjects.

June the 23. the Marquess *de los Balba-
ses*, who desired to begin to appear in publick, sent on his own and Colleagues parts to compliment all the Ambassadors of the Princes; but the *French* received and rendered them the first of all. The substance of the compliment that was made to every Ambassador in particular, by a Gentleman accompanied with two others, was, That the Ambassadors of *Spain* upon their arrival at *Nimueguen*, sent to salute their Excellencies, to testifie the joy they had to find themselves in so illustrious an Assembly, and to have occasion of treating with persons of so known worth as their Excellencies were; and that his Master impatiently expected that his Colleagues were in a condition to be treated according to their character, that he might come in person to testifie his joy to their Excellencies.

The Marquess *de los Palbafes* gave thereby to understand, that *Don Pedro de Ronquillo*, and Mr. *Christin*, had not as yet the quality of Ambassadors; but it was known that the Court of *Spain* had sent to the Duke *de Villa Hermosa* Plenary Commissions in divers forms, and left to the Marquess his disposal the characters that he pleased to give them; but he being no Native *Spaniard*, and being to treat about an affair of so great importance for *Spain*, which he well foresaw would not prove advantageous for that Crown, it was his interest, as well as the dignity of his Embassy, that the Court should authorise his Colleagues, that the event might be the less laid at his door.

The *French* Ambassadors sent three Gentlemen to return his compliment in the like terms of esteem and civility, whom that Ambassador answered in *French*. The same Gentlemen had Orders also to go wait upon the two other *Spanish* Ambassadors, and to compliment them apart. But it being just before insinuated, that they had not as yet the character, those Gentlemen were advertised not to give them the title of *Excellence*; and for that reason *Din Pedro de Ronquillo* was not at home, tho' they went twice to his house, and at dinner-time. But Mr. *Christin* received the compliment without the least difficulty.

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The Nuncio made no doubt but that if in the first steps that the *French* and *Spaniards* made, there happened any thing that might give discontent to the *French*, the Treaty might thereby receive great prejudice; and therefore for preventing the same inconveniences to which the conduct of the Imperial Ambassadors towards the *French* had given occasion; he so ordered matters, that the carriage of the *Spaniards* should give the *French* no cause to complain. So that that Mediator, extremely zealous for the repose of Christendom, hoped that by bringing the *French* and *Spanish* Ministers to a good and familiar correspondence together, the affairs of the Peace would the more successfully be promoted.

Though the Marquess *de los Balbases* remained still *incognito*, yet the *French* Ambassadors sent to compliment my Lady Marchioness, and to desire audience of her. They visited her separately, and without much ceremony; and so did all the other Ambassadors and their Ladies, expecting till they could render her their publick Visits.

Of all the Ambassadors Ladies that were at *Nimueguen*, the Marchioness *de los Balbases* was the only Lady that spoke not *French*; but seeing she understood a little

of it, and that the other Ladies had no great difficulty to understand *Italian* from conversation and play, they had no need of any Interpreter.

The progress that the *French* Tongue had made in foreign Countreys, appeared at *Nimueguen*; for there was no Ambassadors house where it was not almost as common as their Mother-tongue. Besides, it became so necessary, that the Ambassadors of *England*, *Germany*, *Denmark*, and other Nations, held all their Conferences in *French*. The two *Danish* Ambassadors agreed, that even their common Dispatches should be made in that tongue, because Count *Anthony* of *Oldembourg* spoke good *High Dutch*, but not a word of *Danes*, which his Colleague did. Insomuch that during the whole course of the Treaty of Peace, nothing hardly but *French* Writings appeared, strangers choosing rather to express themselves in *French* in their publick ceremonies, than to write in a language that was not so much in use as it.

July 1677. The Assembly now beginning to be formed, and many strangers being with the Ambassadors at *Nimueguen*, the Mediators on the second of *July* thought fit to renew the Writing that was spoken of before,

before, concerning the means of avoiding the inconveniencies which might happen upon the meeting of Coaches: they likewise intreated the Ambassadors to command their Gentlemen upon severe penalties not to fight any Duels, and all their servants not to make any disorder in the Town neither by day nor by night. This was approved by all the Ambassadors, because of some Duels that had been already fought. The Nuncio, who was no less zealous for preservation of peace amongst the families, which were to procure a general peace to all *Europe*, made a like Writing in *Italian*, which was signed by the Ambassadors in the same manner as that of the *English* Mediators was.

In the mean time the Confederates raised all their Batteries in *England*, and were not discouraged. Their Ministers made new instances to the King of *Great Britain*, That it would please him to recall the Forces that he had in the *French* Service; representing to him that they were the cause of the loss of *Mont-cassel*. His Majesty made them answer, That in that Engagement there were none of his subjects in the *French* Army, but the single troop of the *English* *Gen d' arms*, wherein there were but seventeen *English*, all the rest being *French*; and

that on the contrary, the *Dutch* had two Regiments of *Scots*, who had behaved themselves better in that action, than any others of the whole Army. That besides, he could not recall his Forces from the *French* Service without declaring War against *France*, seeing he had sent them thither before he was received to be Mediator; and that desiring to retain that quality, and only labour to procure peace, he could not recall the one, unless he likewise at the same time recall the others that he had in their service.

The Confederates had nothing to say to so just and reasonable an answer as that was; and they found themselves disappointed of their hopes, seeing that that powerful *German* Army that was to enter into *France*, was put to a stand on the frontier by the Forces which the Marshal *de Crequi* commanded; and so distressed for want of provisions, and the parties of the neighbouring Garisons, that it was obliged to retreat. They conceived also so great jealousy of the King of *England's* equipping of a Fleet, that they were in doubt whether on that side they had not as great cause to fear as to hope.

On the 13th of *July* there was an extraordinary Courier from *England*, having Orders

ders to Ambassador *Temple* to repair forthwith to *London* ; and accordingly on the fifteenth about five a clock in the morning, he embarked for that Voyage. Every one had his several reasons concerning the hasty departure of that Mediator, and could not agree whether it was a good or bad presage for the desired peace.

On the 16. the Marquess *de los Balbases* returned from *Holland*, not well satisfied with the people of *Amsterdam*, from whom he received not that favourable reception which he expected, by reason of an opinion which that people had, that the *Spaniards* for their own particular interests were the only cause of the continuance of the War.

Mr. *Ulken*, Envoy from the Duke of *Holstein-Gottorp*, a Prince in League with the King of *Sweden*, and who hath been dispossessed of his Territories by the King of *Denmark*, rendered his first Visits to the *French* Ambassadors on the third of *August*, and the same day the Count of *Kinski* and Mr. *Stratman* the Imperial Ambassadors, visited publicly the Ambassadors of *Spain*, who returned the Visit the same day.

The Nuncio ought to have been dissatisfied at those publick Visits made before the performance of that which was due to him.

as Mediator and Nuncio of the Pope ; Besides, the *French* Ambassadors declared, that at the very instant that the civility which was due to the *English* Ambassadors as Mediators, was not rendered to them, and that the Ambassadors of that Crown suffered those of the Emperour to have the precedence, they would likewise re-assume the rank which they pretended to be their due, without any respect to the Mediation: Wherefore the Ambassadors of *Spain* gave in writing to the Nuncio, and wrote a Letter to Sir *Lionel Jenkins*, declaring in both, that they followed a custom established betwixt the two branches of the house of *Austria*, which rendered these Visits because of kindred ; and that these Visits made before the notification of arrival, were not of any consequence.

The Nuncio and Ambassador *Jenkins* gave Copies of those Declarations to the Ambassadors of *France*, and inserted them in the Memoirs of the Mediation.

On the fourth, the Ambassadors of *Spain* having given notice of their arrival, were visited by the Nuncio ; Sir *Lionel Jenkins* who was then the sole *English* Mediator rendered them his Visit immediately after and next were the *French* Ambassadors three together with their usual attendance

The Ambassador of *Denmark*, who always strove not to be the last, had his audience the same evening, and all the other Ambassadors visited them next day.

Seeing *C. Anthony* of *Oldenbourg* was not come to *Nimueguen*, though his house had been kept long in readiness for him, *Mr. Pet-kum* stept into Office, he took the Character of Envoy of *Denmark*, and in that quality visited all the Ambassadors, which he retained during the whole course of the Treaty, having signed the Memoirs that were given in by the Ambassador of his *Danish* Majesty.

On the sixth the Ambassador of *Spain* visited the Mediators, and the same day demanded Audience of the Ambassadors of *France*, who were all three at the house of the *Marechal d' Estrades*, and there received them at three of the Clock in the afternoon; their Train was numerous, and had no less than nine Coaches with six horses apiece. The five first Coaches were for their retinue; the three Coaches for the three Ambassadors came after, in the third which that belonged to the *M. Balbafes*, were they all together there taking the place, the fourth Coach of the Duke of *St. Peter*, &c. he had the young Duke of *Sesto* there, the

the Coach-horses of the Marquess *de los Balbases* being young, the Coach-man durst not entangle himself in the Court of the Marechal *d' Estrades* his house, because it was but small ; and therefore the *French* Ambassadors went out to receive the *Spanish* at the Street-gate ; the retinue of the Gentlemen were ranked into two files in the Chamber of Audience, because the same had been done by the *Spaniards* ; but the Pages according to the usual custom set the Chairs, the Gentlemen having done so to none but the Nuncio, because it was so practised at his house. After that common Visit, the *French* Ambassadors severally visited each of the *Spanish* Ambassadors apart, and their Visits were returned in the same manner.

The Confederates did not as yet lose the hopes that they built on the *German* Army commanded by the Duke of *Lorrain*, who that he might employ those great forces in some remarkable action, was advanced as far as *Maulon*, the fortifications whereof were razed ; there he took his quarters, designed to pass the *Meuse*, and enter *Champaign* ; but he durst not hazard, because the Marechal *de Crequi* observed his motion. All the proceedings of the Duke of *Lorrain* were only
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to favour the designs of the Prince of *Orange*, and to join his Army if he had succeeded in the enterprize which he was going to attempt on *Charleroy*.

Then it was that the Consultations which were held at *Wesel* began to break out. The Prince of *Orange*, who during the whole course of this War seemed always to have great designs, marched with the forces of *Holland, Spain, Zell and Munster*, which he commanded, to invest *Charleroy*, where he made his Lines, and assigned his Quarters. Several *English* Gentlemen came and offered their service to the Prince, who seeing no Army in readiness, promised himself better success in that Siege than he had had the first time that he attempted it. But he was out in his measures; for *Monsieur de Louvois* who foresaw the design, in a few days put a powerful Army into the field, and was himself in person in a posture of coming to action. Many Gentlemen of the Court went thither by Post; and many *English* Gentlemen were there also to signalize themselves upon that occasion; in so much that the Prince of *Orange* seeing his hopes evanished, thought fit to draw off on the fourteenth, and the Duke of *Lorrain* having advice thereof, left *Monsion* the same day, and marched in haste beyond *Treves* During
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the whole time that that Prince encamped on the *Meuse*, the *Mareschal de Crequi* watched him so close, and so incommoded him, that without fighting he ruined his Army. In effect since that time the Imperial Army appeared only on the defensive.

About this time the Bishop of *Gurck* arrived at *Nimueguen*; the dignity of that Prelate, whom his Servants without Ceremony called my Lord the Prince, and the quality of chief of the Imperial Embassy, gave him without contradiction, the first rank among the Ministers of the Confederates. The *Spaniards* instantly visited him, and he returned the visit the same day; but he was obliged to give the Mediators and *French* Ambassadors a Declaration in the same form, as those of *Spain* gave when they visited the Imperial Ambassadors, to the end that that particular custom might be still without prejudice to the honour that the other Ambassadors rendered the Mediators, and to the preference which is pretended to by *France*.

Sept. 1677, that Prelate gave notice of his arrival to the Mediators and *French* Ambassadors on the third of *September*. The Nuncio and Ambassadour *Jenkins* visited him in the morning, and the *French* Ambassadors having sent three Gentlemen to demand

demand Audience, rendered him their visit at three of the Clock afternoon, with a splendid train of Coaches which marched in this order. The three first were filled with Gentlemen, the three Coaches of the body followed, the Ambassadors being in the last, and a seventh Coach belonging to the *Mareschal d' Estrades* came last of all. All the other Ambassadors almost, rendered their Visits the same day to the Bishop of *Gurck*, who next day visited the Nuncio, and Ambassador *Jenkins* in the morning, and after dinner was with the *French* Ambassadors, who received him all three together at the house of the *Mareschal d' Estrades*.

The Bishop and Prince of *Gurck*, formerly Baron of *Goes*, had the reputation of a great Negotiator, seeing the dignity to which he was raised, was the reward of the services which he had rendered the Emperor in several Negotiations; but when it was perceived that his Talent lay only in making long and rambling speeches, stuffed with an infinite number of Questions, and remote Suppositions, which tended only to pump those with whom he discoursed, without ever speaking his thoughts clearly, the able Ministers were soon weary of his long Visits, which lasted always three hours at least. He seemed so irresolute in the most pressing

the whole time that that Prince encamped on the *Meuse*, the *Mareschal de Crequi* watched him so close, and so incommoded him, that without fighting he ruined his Army. In effect since that time the Imperial Army appeared only on the defensive.

About this time the Bishop of *Gurck* arrived at *Nimueguen*; the dignity of that Prelate, whom his Servants without Ceremony called my Lord the Prince, and the quality of chief of the Imperial Embassy, gave him without contradiction, the first rank among the Ministers of the Confederates. The *Spaniards* instantly visited him, and he returned the visit the same day; but he was obliged to give the Mediators and *French* Ambassadors a Declaration in the same form, as those of *Spain* gave when they visited the Imperial Ambassadors, to the end that that particular custom might be still without prejudice to the honour that the other Ambassadors rendered the Mediators, and to the preference which is pretended to by *France*.

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pressing conjunctures, that that was no small obstacle to the conclusion of the peace of the Empire. There was never any good understanding betwixt him and his Colleague the Count of *Kinski*, nor the Marquis *de los Balbases*. His allowance was 3400 *German* Florins a Month, and he had always several persons of Quality in his Retinue.

Count *Anthony* of *Oldembourg* arrived at *Nimueguen* on the seventh of *September*; but as he was preparing to give the Mediators and all the other Ambassadors notice of his arrival, the Imperial Ministers acquainted him that they expected to be preferred before the *English* Mediators. That Ambassador perceiving this to be contrary to the custom that was established at *Cologne*, would not consent to the Imperial pretensions. He well foresaw that not only the Mediators would not have admitted his Visit, but likewise the *French* and all the other Ambassadors who maintained the honour of the Mediation; and therefore he gave no notice of his arrival, gave nor received no Visit, and continued still *incognito* at *Nimueguen*; but that hindered not but that he met at conferences, and especially at all places where they played.

That Count is the Natural Son of the last Count of that name; to whom the King of *Denmark* was heir, as being of the same family; but the present Count hath obtained a vast Estate from his Majesty, with the Government of the County of *Oldembourg*; he is of the Order of the *Elephant*, and very handsome; his presence, courage, rich equipage, and vast expence shewed him to be a great person; but his civility and free humour made him beloved of every body; insomuch that the Assembly of *Nimuegues* lost much by his departure, which was eight months after his arrival.

The end of the Campaign drawing now near, the Confederates did not think that the *French* forces would effect any considerable Enterprize. Nevertheless the Marshal *de Crequi* assured the King that he would make him Master of *Fribourg*, if his Majesty pleased. The design appeared extremely difficult. But the Marshal having obtained permission, and all that was necessary for carrying on so great an Enterprize, endeavoured to make the Duke of *Lorraine* believe that he intended some design upon *Sarbruck*, and at the same time made a considerable body of men pass the *Rhine* at *Brisac*, which on the ninth of *October* invested *Fribourg*, and marching thither in
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great haste, he forced the place to render, before that the Duke of *Lorrain* could come in time to relieve it.

Octob. 1677, such was the consternation at *Nimueguen* among the *Germans*, and all the Ministers of the Confederates, that even after the taking of that place, they could hardly believe that the *Marshal de Crequi* durst have undertaken the siege. *Fribourg* has a Cittadel strong by situation and fortifications; the Town is great and well peopled, because of the University that is there, and the Emperour received a very considerable revenue from it; but the consequence of that conquest was better known afterwards than at that time.

The Voyage that the Prince of *Orange* was preparing to make into *England*, gave ground of various conjectures. On the 17 of *Octob.* he Embarked at the *Brill*, being accompanied with the chief of his Family, and the *Heer Odyke* the Extraordinary Ambassador of the States-General, who had not, as it was given out, given him a full power to conclude a Peace, or make a new League. On the 19th. the Prince arrived in *England*, where his Marriage with the Princess *Mary*, Eldest Daughter to his Royal Highness the Duke of *York*, was carried

carried on so secretly, that the first news that they had of it at Court was the conclusion thereof.

The news of this Marriage came to *Nimueguen* the 29th. and seeing all the Confederates began to hope more than ever, that *England* would not be long before it declared in their favours, they made no more doubt of it after this Marriage. And therefore all the Ministers of the Confederates complimented thereupon Ambassador *Jenkins*, and my Lady *Temple* also, who remained at *Nimueguen* after the departure of her Husband, of which no man doubted but that the Marriage of the Prince of *Orange* was the cause, whereof till then they were ignorant.

The affairs of the North went daily worse and worse for the *Suedes*, especially in *Pomerania*; *Stetin* was besieged from the beginning of Summer, and was extremely straitned. The *Danes* had taken the Isle of *Rugen*. And though Count *Koningsmark* routed them there, and beat them wholly out of it, yet the Town of *Stetin* deprived of all kind of relief, and out of hopes of receiving any, was at length forced to render to the Elector of *Brandenbourg*, having given demonstrations of great Loyalty to *Sueden*, and left to posterity an

extraordinary instance of constancy and resolution.

Affairs were wholly at a stand at *Nimueguen*; there was no meeting but for Play, Dancing and Collations, at the houses of the Ambassadors of *France*, *Spain*, *Sueden* and *Denmark*; but the League which was signed at the *Hague* the tenth of *Jan.* 1671, betwixt *England* and the States-General, to oblige the *French* King to make Peace on the terms they had agreed upon, made all the Confederates hope that the countenance of affairs would quickly change to their advantage, and that *France* would be at length forced to stoop, or be overpowred by the multitude of enemies.

England in effect seemed inclined to an open declaration, and the King thought it not fit any longer to reject the solicitations of his Parliament; wherefore he made a Speech to them in a quite different strain from that which was mentioned before; he acquainted the two Houses with the League that he had made with the States-General for the preservation of *Flanders*, and obliging those to a Peace who would not accept of the conditions that they had judged reasonable. He laid before them the necessity of money for compassing those great designs;

designs. He gave them some account of the moneys which he had received for the building and equipping of Ships ; and consented that the Supplies which the Parliament did give upon this occasion should be laid out by such persons as they should nominate. But of all things his Majesty put them in mind of the advantages which *England* had reaped, and still did reap from the peace it enjoyed, whilst all *Europe* besides were in actual War.

For preserving so much happy success, it was necessary that the *French* should be still prosperous ; and that by breaking the measures of the Confederates, they might make their Ambassadors change their tone. The taking of the Isle of *Tobago*, of all the Vessels that were in that Port, and the Ammunition which was in the fort ; the death of *Binkes* Admiral of *Zealand*, and the utter ruin of that Colony, were sensible blows to the States-General ; as the taking of *St. Guillain* during the rigor of Frost and Snow had terrified the *Low-countries*. By these means the *French* King thought he might overthrow the projects of his Enemies.

Febr. 167 $\frac{1}{2}$, Monsieur de Somnitz Ambassador and Plenipotentiary from the Elector of *Brandenbourg* on February 25. died

at *Nimneguen*, in the sixty and sixth year of his age. He was a fat man, of great judgment, and had done his Master very good service in several employments. Mr. *de Blaspiel* his Colleague remained sole Ambassador at *Nimneguen*; he is as honest and civil a man as lives, and loves company and good cheer; but his best quality is, that he perfectly understands the interests of the Elector his Master, and is wholly devoted thereunto.

The Elector of *Brandenbourg* having defrayed the charges of his Ambassadors, by a Steward of the Embassie, which for the first year amounted to forty thousand Crowns, their allowances were regulated for the future.

In the mean time the *French* King began the Campaign with his whole Household, which never appeared in better order, nor richer Equipage; but the better to cover the design which he intended, he carried with him the Queen and all the Ladies of Court as far as *Metz*, whilst several bodies of his Armies kept at the same time *Luxembourg*, *Namur*, *Charlemont*, *Mons* and *Ypres*, the best provided places of the *Low-countries*, as it were blocked up; in so much that the Confederate forces being divided for the preservation of these Towns, were

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in no condition to bring relief to any of them.

March 1677, the *French* themselves were no less surprized than all the Confederates were, when the King leaving the Queen, crossed so many Countrys, in so great haste, that on the fourth of *March* he came before *Ghent*, which by orders from him was invested the first of that month. The besieged to no purpose cut their Dikes, and drowned part of the Country; for the King lodged his forces, and pressed so vigorously the siege, that in a few days the Town and Cittadel were both carried.

It is hard to be expressed what trouble the taking of *Ghent* put all *Holland* into: They saw to their astonishment that the *French* who were remote on the one side, approached on the other. At *London* all the Confederates exaggerated the importance of that loss, that they might excite *England* to a speedy and open declaration; whilst the *French* King pursuing his conquests, caused *Ypres* to be besieged on the 15 of *March*, and in a few days took it, though the Garison made a brave resistance.

The Treaty was now more than ever damped at *Nimueguen*; so great prosperities

stopt the mouths of all the Confederates Ambassadors, though the *French* seemed nothing elevated thereby. The same prosperities had great impressions on *Holland*; the people tired out with the War, and alarmed by the conquests that were made on their frontiers, minded nothing but peace. They reflected on the flourishing condition that the United Provinces were in before the War; they saw their Treasure exhausted, and the inhabitants unable any longer to support the great Impositions and Taxes of the Two hundred penny, which had been raised seven times in one year. And therefore the *Heer Beverning* pressingly urged the Ambassadors of the Confederates, being vexed to see them still flatter themselves with vain hopes, when the only refuge they now had was the declaration of *England*; and indeed that was the thing they wholly applied themselves to, without advancing one step towards the peace.

Mr. *Oliver Krantz*, who the year before went into *Suedeland* to receive new Instructions from the King his Master, with whom the *Danes* hindered the commerce of Letters, was come back to *Nimueguen*, where he found affairs as backward as when he parted from thence; and besides a great driness betwixt his Colleague and the *French* Ambas-

Ambassadors, by reason of a difference that had happened between the Countess of *Oxenstierne* and Madam *Colbert* ; the Countess after her Lying-in having been pleased to render her first visit to the Ambassador of *Spain's* Lady.

That procedure offended Madam *Colbert*, who twice afterward refused the visit of my Lady *Oxenstierne*, upon pretext of feigned indispositions, which hinder'd her not at the same time to receive the visits of several other Ladies. This published the ground of the difference, which might easily have been adjusted, had it happened between persons of other humours, of whom the gravity of the one, and the frank humour of the other would hardly agree together. And that was the reason that the difference of those two Ladies, and the driness betwixt the *French* Ambassadors, and the first Ambassador of *Sueden*, lasted even till the end of the Treaty.

The Tragical death of the Ambassador of *Denmark's* Ladies brother, was also the cause that that Lady visited my Lady *Oxenstierne* no more. Her brother had a Settlement in *Scho ren*, where he was accused of keeping intelligence with the *Danes* against the service of *Sueden* : he was brought before a Council of War, and there sentenced

to be shot to death by four Ensigns. The King of *Sueden* offered him a pardon if he would have acknowledged himself guilty of Treason; but the poor Gentleman chose rather to dye, and with extraordinary generosity caused fifty Ducats a piece to be given to the four Ensigns that shot him to death. The news of that did so afflict the Ambassadors Lady, that afterwards she could not so much as endure the sight of a *Suede*.

The Baron of *Platen*, Envoy from the Duke of *Osnabrug*, arrived on the 30th at *Nimueguen*; but seeing the House of *Lunenburg* had not obtained the title and rank of Ambassador for their Ministers, Baron *Platen* thought, that taking the title of Plenipotentiary Minister, he might obtain an equality with the Ambassadors of the Powers that came after Crowned heads. But he succeeded not in his pretensions, though by a liberal expence he did his Master credit.

April 1678. At the time when there was no talk at *Nimueguen*, but of the disposition that was in *England* of openly favouring the Confederates, and reducing *France* to receive the Law; it may be said that the French King at the same time gave it to all Europe

Europe by the Propositions that he made the 9th of *April*, wherein he declared the conditions on which he was willing to make peace with all those with whom he was engaged in War; and whereupon his Majesty fixed as the last point he would condescend to, and upon which his Enemies might chuse Peace or War, provided they did it before the tenth of *May*, beyond which time he would not be engaged to stand to those conditions.

I will not here insert a particular relation of these conditions, neither of the Memoirs of the Treaty, nor of the Treaties that were concluded, because they have been already published: I shall only say, that the Propositions of the 9th of *April* were the beginning of the Negotiation of peace, and the scantling according to which all the Treaties have been concluded and signed, though at first nothing appeared more remote from it, nor yet afterward, until the day that the conditions were in general accepted.

The Imperialists of all others seemed the least inclined to yeild to those conditions.

The first which required full satisfaction to be made to *Sueden*, was insupportable to the Northern Princes. The *Spaniards* and

and other Confederates found them so hard, that (as they said) they would hazard all, rather than accept of them: And when the *French* Ambassadors carried these conditions to my Lord Ambassador *Jenkins* to be by him communicated to the Confederates, he made answer, That he could not do it as Mediator; but that he would acquaint them with them in discourse, as a matter to which he promised no answer.

That Mediator refused to treat on these Conditions, because in the League that on the 10th of *January* was concluded betwixt *England* and *Holland*, the King his Master had made other conditions with the *States-General*, to which they resolved to force *France*. But he did not foresee, that by refusing to present the *French Kings* Conditions to the Confederates, which would prove the cause of as many treaties as there were Princes and States engaged in the War; he excluded himself in effect from the Mediation.

The news came about that time, that the *French* had abandoned *Messina*, and all their Conquests in *Sicily*. People were strangely surpris'd to see that the *Mareschal de la Fausillade*, who was thought to have been sent into that Kingdom with fresh Forces, upon design of some new enterprise, was only gone

gone thither to fetch off the Forces that the King had there. The abandoning of *Sicily* was imputed to the suspicion that the *French* had of *England's* declaring, where considerable Levies were already making. Some wondered that the *French* King should so easily abandon a Countrey, the yielding up of which might have stood him in stead in the Treaty of Peace with *Spain*: Others on the contrary thought it more glorious for him so to recall the succour which he was pleased to give the *Messineses*, without having had any hand in their revolt, than to forsake by a Treaty, people that had implored his protection.

It was not to be doubted, but that the present juncture of affairs would oblige the King to provide against all accidents; and therefore the *Marshal de la Favillade*, having declared to the Senate his Majesties Orders, grounded on the need that he stood in of all his Forces, caused his Troops to embark. But many of the *Messineses* dreading the certain revenge of the *Spaniards*, came in so great number on board of the *French* Fleet, that if there had been more ships there, *Messina* had been wholly deserted.

The Confederates had their eyes fixed solely upon *England*, as the only place from
whence

whence they might expect any considerable relief. Hence it was that many Ambassadors left *Nimueguen*. *Don Pedro de Ronquillo* went to *Brussels* to return no more; but it was thought the reason was, because he would not be inferior to the *Marques de la Fuentes*, who came as it were only accidentally to *Nimueguen*.

Don Pedro de Ronquillo, who passed for one of the sharpest sighted men that was in all that famous Assembly, could not forbear to tell a French Gentleman, upon occasion of the conditions of Peace which the French King had proposed, That he admired the prudence of that great Prince, and that the success of his conduct would well appear by the necessity they were like to be brought to, either of making peace, or of maintaining the War alone. The Baron of *Platen*, Envoy of the Prince of *Oranbrug*, went likewise to *Brussels*. Mr. *Spunheim* on the 27th of April, set out for *England*, with the quality of Envoy Extraordinary from the Elector Palatine. The Count of *Oxenstiern* a few days after embarked on the same design. Mr. *Oliver Krantz* soon after did the same: Which made some think, that the *Suedes* intended to take other measures, fearing lest *France* in the sequel might not be powerful enough to buoy up

Sueden from the low condition into which it was sunk.

Thus from all parts came bellows to blow the fire that was kindling in *England*, and which already threatned *France*. In the mean time the Parliament that was then sitting, was prorogued until the 9th of *May*; and in the Assembly of the States of *Holland*, which were at that time met, the Towns were divided as to the continuation of the War. The propositions which the *French King* made to the *States-General*, seemed so reasonable, that notwithstanding the powerful faction of the ill affected, *Amsterdam*, *Leyden*, *Harlem*, and all *North-Holland* were absolutely for peace.

May, 1678. The Province of *Holland* being the most considerable of all the rest, always turns the balance of deliberations; so that Deputies were sent to *London* and *Brussels*, to represent the impossibility that the *States-General* were in of continuing the War. And it appears by the three printed Memoirs of the Heers *Boreel* and *Weede*, the Extraordinary Deputies of the States to the Duke of *Villa Hermosa*, Governour of the *Spanish Netherlands*, of the 8. 14. and 27. of *May*, that the reasons of that impossibility were no less founded on the power

power and strength of *France*, than on the weakness of the *Dutch* and *Spaniards*, and the unprofitableness of all their efforts. At that time there began to be some hopes of Peace, what aversion soever all the Ambassadors of the Confederates seemed to have to it. The time prefixed by the King was near at hand ; and on the fifth of *May* the *French* Ambassadors received orders to declare that his Majesty required that the *Messineses* who were come for refuge into *France*, should by the Treaty of Peace with *Spain*, be restored to, and maintained in the possession of their Estates, and that they might dispose of them at their pleasure. The Ambassadors were enjoined to insist upon that point, as a matter that his Majesty concerned himself much in ; but that demand being made after that the conditions were proposed, it could not create an obstacle sufficient to hinder the conclusion of the Peace : Nevertheless it afterward produced a very considerable difficulty, seeing it lasted long after the signing of the Treaty, and was one of the causes that were alledged of the long delay that *Spain* made in exchanging the ratifications.

Though it was no new thing to hear of the success of the *French* forces, nevertheless men were strangely surprized at the

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news which a Courier brought from *Maestricht*, that on the sixth of *May* a Detachment of that Garison commanded by the *Sieur de la Breteche*, had surprized the fort of *Leem*, situated in a Marsh, with a double Ditch well pallisado'd. The barrels of Wax-cloth which were prepared at *Maestricht* for the Execution of that Enterprize, had not the success that was expected; but forty swimmers joining valour to stratagem, had the greatest share in that fortunate exploit; in so much that in an hours time the *French* were masters of a very strong place, and very easie to be maintained.

The States-General in the mean time began seriously to reflect on the advantage of making Peace upon the conditions which the *French* King had offered them. The Town of *Amsterdam*, which has the same esteem amongst the Towns of *Holland*, that Province has among the other six, was of that opinion, and backt it vigorously; that Town hath always been more inclined to peace than any other, not only because it suffered more by the interruption of commerce, but also because it hath been more tender of its liberty, having Magistrates disinterested and zealous for the Commonwealth.

Rotterdam had its advantage by the continuation of the War, because there being but little or no Trade at that time in *Holland* but what came by means of the *English*, all was brought to that Port, as to the center of the Province, and the most convenient place for them. Nevertheless one of the most considerable Magistrates of *Rotterdam*, so powerfully assisted those that were well affected towards the Peace, that they gained almost all the voices of *Holland*. The rest of the Provinces have found it always to be so much their interest to follow the example of that Province in matters of greatest importance; that they still acknowledge that they owe their last preservation to its prudent conduct. The Provinces of *Guelderland*, *Utrecht* and *Overyssel*, in which the Prince of *Orange* has acquired a great authority, since the *French* King forsook his Conquests there, durst not openly declare for peace, because it evidently appeared to be contrary to the interests of that Prince; but they referred themselves to what *Holland* should think fit to be done concerning that great affair.

The effect of all these Declarations was, That the *Hier Beveering* received orders from the States-General, secretly to acquaint the *French* Ambassadors, that they accepted

ted the conditions which that King was pleased to grant to them. This Ambassador, that he might act according to the intention of his Superiors, who would not allarm their Allies, gave the Count *d'Avaux* notice, that he earnestly desired to discourse with him in private; and that for that end, he would fetch a walk alone upon the Rampart of the Town about seven a Clock in the morning, because at that time no body would be there. The Count *d'Avaux* failed not to be there, and had an hours conference with him, after which he gave his Colleagues an account of the result of that discourse, which gave occasion to the Dispatches whereby the King was informed of the good disposition of the States General; in consideration whereof his Majesty granted them ten days longer than the tenth of May, as they had desired, that during that time they might endeavour to perswade their Allies to accept of the conditions proposed, as themselves had done.

The Marquess of *Fuentes* arrived at *Nimueguen* the sixth of May, he is Son to the Ambassador of the same name, who was in France after the Kings Marriage; he came from *Venice*, where he had resided Ambassador thirteen years; and the Court of Spain called him thence, that they might employ him

him in *England*; but it was believed that the nature of those important affairs which were then treating at *London*, was the cause why the Duke of *Villa Hermosa* detained him at *Brussels*, that he might send him to *Nimueguen*, there to fill the place of second Ambassador.

The Peace began to be so certain in *Holland*, that the joy of the people appeared in all places, who at the *Hague* expressed the same by shouting, *God save the States-General, and the Prince of Orange, the Peace is concluded*. It was not so at *Nimueguen*, where the Confederates were troubled; because they saw the effect which the conditions offered by the *French King* were like to produce. They declared to the Mediators, That it was impossible an affair of so great importance, as that of the Peace, could be resolved and concluded in so short a time as the *French King* had prefixed.

On the 20 of *May* a Courier brought to *Nimueguen* a copy of the Letter which the *French King* wrote to the States-General from the Camp at *St. Denis*. The 18th the King acquainted them, that with pleasure he was informed, that they had sentiments conform to the sincere desire which he had of contributing all that could conduce to the establishing of Peace, whilst he enjoyed

ed the advantages that his Arms had procured to him, and which he might still expect in the sequel of the War. By the same Letter the King granted to the States-General the seventh Article of the Treaty of Commerce, about which the Ambassadors had not agreed at *Nimueguen*; and that he might fully remove the apprehensions they were in of the loss of *Flanders*, his Majesty promised, That so soon as by a Treaty concluded upon the conditions proposed, they should return to his ancient Alliance, and oblige themselves to be Neutral during the course of the War; he would still in consideration of them, grant the same conditions to *Spain*, and that in the mean time he should not attack any place in the *Low-countries*, but that he should always be ready to grant them that *Barriere* which they judged so necessary for their repose. That if they thought fit to send Deputies unto him, they should find him in the Neighbourhood of *Ghent* until the twenty-seventh of that Month.

So soon as that Letter came to *Nimueguen*, the Count d' *Avaux* went with two Coaches and all his Retinue, to give the *Dutch* Ambassadors notice of the same. The noise of this Letter, and that publick visit, which much rejoiced the people, gave an alarm to

the Ministers of the Confederates. Every one of them dispatched Couriers the same day, clearly perceiving that the conduct of the *French* would infallibly produce the effect which his Majesty expected from the States-General. This beginning of Negotiation gave so large a subject to the conferences of the Confederates, that the meetings which for a long time they had held, were at that time doubled.

That Letter of the *French* Kings was the same day brought to the States-General by a Trumpeter whom his Majesty sent to the *Hague*; and was there received with all the demonstrations of joy. The States after four days consultation, on the 25th sent their Answer by one of their Trumpeters, whom the Kings Trumpeter conducted to the Camp.

They expressed in few words the profound respect wherewith they had received the Letter, which his Majesty had done them the honour to write to them, and testified the exceeding joy which they conceived from the sincere desire that his Majesty had of contributing to the peace of *Europe*; humbly beseeching him to give credit to the *Hier Beverning* their Extraordinary Ambassador, whom they would send to his Majesty, to inform him how desirous

siours they were of giving him fresh assurances of their sincere intentions for the Peace.

The *Dutch* Ambassadors having on the 26th received a copy of the answer of the States-General, gave it to the *French* Ambassadors, who sent it to the King by the same Courier, who brought the copy of his Majesties Letter to *Nimueguen*; his Majesty was well satisfied to find therein, that the States-General fully corresponded with the inclination that he had for the Peace. At the same time the *Heer Beverning* received orders to go within a few days and wait upon the King, that he might be more particularly informed of his Majesties intentions. That Ambassador would willingly have excused himself; but the States Order being renewed, on the 29th he set out from *Nimueguen* in Laid-coaches. The reluctancy of the *Heer Beverning* was attributed to the fear he had of disobliging the Prince of *Orange*, whose Interests did not admit of the Peace; till that time this Ambassador was reputed a very good *Republican*; but afterward he was thought wedded to the concerns of the Prince of *Orange*, though it could not be affirmed whether fear or inclination were the cause of that engagement. He is a man of a penetrating wit, who

knows what is good, and always pursues it by just means. He is assiduous and painful, and hath been employed by the States in many Embassies, and in all the Treaties that have been made since the year 1650; but he loves retirement, and it was not without trouble that he left his Country-house near *Leyden*, to come to *Nimueguen*. The *Heer Haren* his Colleague is a Gentleman of *Friesland*, of much credit in that Province, and addicted to the interests of the Prince of *Nassau*, Governour and Hereditary Stateholder of the Provinces of *Friesland* and *Groninguen*.

The *Heer Beverning* arrived on the 30th at *Antwerp*, and there found a Trumpeter, who stayed for him to conduct him to the *French Camp*, where having seen Monsieur *de Pomponne*, he had Audience of his Most Christian Majesty: He found him so sincere in his intentions towards the Peace, and so favourably inclined towards the States-General, that on the first of *June* he left the Camp; but in the account that he gave his Superiors of his Negotiation, he told them that he found the *French King* as well informed of the condition of his enemies, and of the places that he might attack, as he was of his own affairs.

About

About the same time the Marquess *de la Fuente* gave notice of his arrival to the *French* Ambassadors; but seeing he had already visited those of the Emperour in publick, without giving the same declaration that his Colleagues had given to the Mediators, to whom all the Ambassadors gave the precedency, the *French* Ambassadors ordered a Gentleman to tell the person that came from him, that they could not see him unless he first performed what was due to the *English* as Mediators. By that the *French* Ambassadors obliged Ambassador *Jenkins*, to whom they had given their promise constantly to maintain the honour of the Mediation.

It was alledged that it was to no purpose for the Marquess *de la Fuente* to give that particular declaration, since that instead of one which might suffice for the three Ambassadors of *Spain*, they had already given two. But the *French* Ambassadors maintained that for the same reason they ought to have a third, and that no consideration should hinder the Marquess *de la Fuente* from following the example of his Colleagues in that matter; that on the contrary they had great cause to wonder, that by such a refusal he would in some measure seem to condemn their conduct; so that for
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want of that declaration the *French* Ambassadors saw not the Marquess *de la Fuente* during the whole course of the Treaty, unless at the meetings of the Ladies, where he used to come as the other Ambassadors did.

The news from *England* were at that time very tumultuary ; they advised, that the King of *Great Britain* had Prorogued the Parliament to the third of *June*, promising at that time to give them good news of the Peace. Seeing a Prorogation of it self cuts off all that hath been proposed and treated in preceding Sessions without being concluded and confirmed, this Prorogation put a stop to some pert Addresses which the House of Commons had made to his Majesty of *Great Britain*, such as that whereby they desired the King would declare who they were that had counselled his Majesty to give the answers which he made in the mouth of *May* the year before, and in the Month of *January* of the present.

June 1678, The Marquess *de la Fuente*, who had not as yet communicated his plenary Commission, caused on the first of *June* a copy thereof to be given, which was collationed by the Nuncio's Auditor. The
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French Ambassadors found it not to be in the form that it ought to be, because all the four Ambassadors of *Spain* being named therein, and being *Posteriour* in date to that of the three Ambassadors who were approved, it seemed that by that means the *Spaniards* might disown, when they should please, all that they had done till then, since that that new plenary commission might annul the former. And therefore the *French* Ambassadors refused to accept of it, and pretended that the *Marquess de la Fuente* should have one apart, or that this last should be of the same date with the former, without which they declared that they would not acknowledg him for an Ambassador.

In the mean time they were in great impatience at *Nimueguen* to know what had been the success of the deputation of the *Heer Beverning*, who to the trouble of the Confederates went from thence to the *French* Camp, not doubting but that all these proceedings would at length terminate in a Peace with the *Dutch*. They thought it a matter of so much importance to divert that blow, that for that end they set all engines at work; but on the fourth of *June* a Courier from the Camp brought the *French* Ambassadors a copy of the answer

swer which that King had made to the Letter of the States-General, and another of the Memoir that his Majesty had caused to be given to the *Heer Beverning*.

The King by that Letter testified the pleasure which he had to see the States-General in a disposition towards Peace; that his Majesty was willing to condescend to several things in favour of their Allies; and how joyful he would be, by restoring to them his ancient amity, to enter with them into such engagements as might for ever secure their repose and liberty.

It can hardly be believed what good effect the word *Liberty* produced in the minds of the *Dutch*; that word was so agreeable to them, and so sensibly affected them, that in all the impressions that have been made of that Letter in *Holland*, the word *Repose* is left out, to make that of *Liberty* sound the louder. They talked publicly, that whatever secret or publick enemy they might have, for the future they would not fear the loss of their *Liberty*, in which the present War had made so great a breach.

By the Memoir given to the *Heer Beverning*, the *French* King at the desire of the States-General granted a Truce for six weeks, to begin the first of the ensuing Month,

Month, which extended that Truce until the fifteenth of *August*, to the end that the States might have all the time they wished for to perswade their Allies to consent to the Peace, in consideration whereof the States should promise not to assist them in any manner, during the whole course of that War, if they would not incline them to embrace the conditions offered by the King; it being unjust that his Majesty in the condition that his forces were in, should lose the occasions of action, and should engage himself of new, as he had already done by the Letter of the 18th of the foregoing Month. But to evidence the sincerity of his intentions, his Majesty at the same time gave orders to the Marechal of *Luxembourg*, General of his Army, not to attack any place during all that time, and to stay for the answer of the States in the Neighbourhood of *Brussels*.

The good disposition that the King of *England* seemed to be in at that time, contributed much to the advancement of the Peace. The *Heer Beverning*, who came to the Camp from *London*, brought word that the King of *England* approved all the proceedings that the *Dutch* had made towards the Peace. And by the Harangue that his Majesty of *Great Britain* made to the Parliament

liament the third of *June*, he declared that none were to be blamed but the House of Commons if he could not engage in the War. And the Chancellor told the whole Parliament that their manner of acting could not but provoke a powerful Prince, who might resent it ; and for that reason that they ought to strengthen themselves at home and abroad, for their own security against all kind of attempts.

In the meantime the Confederates set all Engines at work to incline the King of *England* to favour their interests. The Marquess of *Borgomanero*, Envoy Extraordinary from *Spain* at that Court, on the fifth of *June* represented to his Majesty of *Great Britain*, how necessary it was that he should send his Fleet and Army towards the *Low-countries* for a curb to the common enemy, and a Guard to all *Chriftenom* against the oppression and ruin wherewith it was threatened by the most Christian King ; and how advantageous it would be for his Majesty to make a League offensive and defensive with the Catholick King his Master, and the Emperour, who would prove his constant Allies in all the concerns of the common cause.

Treaty at Nimueguen. III

The Ambassadors of the Confederates held long and frequent conferences at *Nimueguen* ; but they found it difficult to agree upon the answer that they were to give upon the communication which the Ambassadors of the States-General had made to them of the Memoir that the *French King* had given to the *Heer Beverning*, and whereupon the Ambassadors urged their resolution, that they might take their measures accordingly ; at length all of them gave their Answers in their Conference of the tenth.

The Imperial Ambassadors gave it in *Latin*, and very long ; but the purport of all was, that they expected from the candour and equity of the States-General, that they would do nothing to the prejudice of the Emperour, the Empire, and all the Confederates, who were only engaged in the present War for the preservation of the *United-Provinces*, which the States themselves knew sufficiently, without being put in mind of it. That they had to do with an enemy whose design was only to divide the Confederates, that he might the more easily surprize them all. That if there was an absolute necessity that they must make Peace, the Emperour offered to concur with them in it upon fair and honest conditions ;

ditions ; but that they would not take such precipitate resolutions as were demanded by the enemy. That they well perceived the design was only to throw them upon a precipice, since they were not so much as allowed to treat of those matters, without the decision of which no Peace could ever be had. That they intreated them not to be over-hasty. That the general Peace was ruined, if *France* perceived that the States-General had a design to treat separately ; assuring them, that when the Emperour should make Peace, he would not be less careful of the needs of the *United Provinces* and *Low-countries*, than he had been zealous in undertaking and maintaining the War for their defence.

The Ambassador of *Denmark* made answer on the same subject, That he believed that the States-General would never do any thing to the disadvantage of his *Danish* Majesty, who had exposed his person, and spent his revenues to comply with the engagements into which he had entered with them. That if they were absolutely obliged to accept of Peace, they expected that they would not do any thing that might force those whose affairs were in a better posture, to accept of absolute conditions. That it was not fit that the constancy which the
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French shewed to their Allies, should triumph over the firmness of their Union; that they ought to guard against the inconveniencies that the least precipitancy might plunge them into; and that provided the King his Master found his security in a Treaty, he would sacrifice all his interests to the publick weal.

The Ambassador of *Brandenbourg* assured himself that the *States-General* would promise nothing to the *French* King that might be contrary to the League that the Elector his Master had with them; since he had neither spared his Blood nor Countries, to preserve their Republick from utter ruin; and that far less they would conclude a Peace with *France*, till they first procured his Master the satisfaction they had promised him by their Treaty of Alliance. That as to the rest his Electoral Highness desired nothing more than a reasonable Peace, for procuring whereof he should always make appear his moderation, and the respect he had to the urgent reasons which the *States-General* pretended for concluding of Peace.

Whilst the Confederates made all these Remonstrances to the Ambassadors of the *States-General* at *Nimueguen*, it was known that the *Spaniards* declared at the *Hague*,
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that they accepted the conditions offered by *France*: and as the Deputies of the *States-General* in their Memoirs presented to the Duke *de Villa Hermosa*, alledged the weakness of *Spain*, as one of the strongest reasons that disabled them longer to continue the War; so upon this occasion the *Spaniards* failed not to do the like, and to impute the necessity they were in of accepting the Peace, on the inability of the *States-General* of supporting any longer the charge and burden of so great a War.

The *Imperialists* in the mean time, and all the Ministers of the Northern Princes, exclaimed against the inclination that the *Spaniards* and *Dutch* had to so disadvantageous a Peace; they made their own interpretations of the *French Kings* condescensions, saying that *France* laid snares for them, which they could not discover until they were out of condition of avoiding them; or that otherwise there must needs be some internal weakness in the forces of *France*, how formidable soever they appeared; that standing of it out would do the business; and that it was too base to submit to an absolute Law, whilst they were not yet out of hopes of gaining those advantages that would render their condition better.

The *Dutch*, who saw evidently by the Declarations of the Ambassadors of their Confederates, that their design was to give no positive answer to the Memoir of the *French King*, which they had communicated to them, and that they refused to accept of a Truce, which being for more than two months time, would have given them sufficient time to receive Instructions from the Princes their Masters, without any precipitation; they declared to them of new, that the necessity they lay under, could admit of no longer delay; that they had lost all their hopes in *England*; that all the *Low-countries* were in so bad a state, that there was not so much as one place that could resist the attempts of the *French*; that nothing but a speedy Peace could save their Republick from the ruin that the loss of these Provinces would inevitably draw upon them; and therefore they prayed them to give a positive answer.

In the Conference of the 20th, all the Ambassadors of the Confederates answered, but after their usual way of biasing: The Bishop of *Gurck* made a long speech, wherein he exaggerated all that the Emperor had done and suffered both within and without the Empire for the defence of the *States-General*. He assured them, that it

was with grief that the Emperour understood that they were reduced to a necessity of making Peace ; that he found the actings of *France* to be contrary to the rights of all Sovereign powers, in that they prescribed conditions without admitting of Treaties ; that the Emperour desired Peace ; that the Ambassadors of the States had themselves acknowledged that the conditions were hard, and that it was not their intention that every thing therein contained should be swallowed down ; that for their part, they had declared to them that the Emperour could not admit of the alternative of *Fribourg* and *Philipsbourg* in the manner it was proposed ; that they expected orders from his Imperial Majesty, and in the mean time besought them that by their good offices they would dispose the *French* Ambassadors to admit of more equitable conditions, and to enter into Treaty with them ; and that they would incline them to have regard to their Allies, and especially to the Duke of *Lorraine*, who was the most injured of all.

The Marquess *de los Balbases* said, That he had nothing to add to the last answer which the Duke *de Villa Hermosa* had given in writing to the Deputies of the *States-General* ; and that the King his Master would
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not abandon the interests of his Allies, neither in Peace nor War. By that kind of expression this Ambassador declared for the Peace, without offending the Confederates, seeing his Declaration was conform to the acceptation with which the Governor of the *Low-countries* took it in the answer of 27th of May.

The Ambassador of *Denmark* alledged that in the short time that had passed since he was required to give a peremptory declaration, it was not possible that he could have had new orders from the King his Master for giving it; that the matter was of such importance, that no less depended on it than the acceptation of Peace, or continuation of War; that as to the *States-General*, it was to very little purpose to advise them about an affair that was so far advanced, that nothing was wanting to it but the formalities of a conclusion. That the King his Master had no other measures now to take, but to put the States in mind, that the Peace which they were about to make, did not exempt them from the obligation of their reciprocal Treaties; and that he prayed God that he would inspire the *States-General* with counsels suitable to the reflection they ought to make on the state of those whom they themselves had drawn

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into the hazards of the present War.

The Ambassador of *Brandenbourg* insisted on the same reason, to excuse himself from giving the Declaration to which he was urged; saying that he had but two things to represent to the *States-General*; the first was, That though on the part of the Elector his Master he had given in Propositions of Peace with *France* and *Sueden*; yet his most Christian Majesty had not declared on what conditions he would make it. The other, That the general condition of the intire satisfaction of *Sueden* being down-right contrary to that which the *States-General* were obliged to procure to the Elector his Master, it was to be thought that *France* and *Sueden* desired not to have Peace.

The President Canon who was not at the Conference of the tenth, enlarged very much upon the hardness of the Alternatives which the *French* King offered to his Master; seeing, as he said, the first swallowed up almost all his Country, by dismembring the half of his Territories; and that the other by depriving him of his Capital City, and the Sovereignty of the four Ways which *France* demanded, took from him at the same time the free commerce of his own Territories. That if the faith of all
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the Treaties made with the Confederates, was of no effect to his Master, he protested that that Prince would rather banish himself willingly from his own Country, than to be restored to it upon such hard conditions, seeing he had never done any thing against *France* that could deserve so severe usage.

All these high discourses and declarations that tended to stave off the Peace, stopt not the course of the Negotiation. On the 22 the *States-General* sent orders to their Ambassadors to sign the Peace with *France* before the end of the Month; and they wrote the same day to the King by the *Sieur de Lannoy* one of their Officers, who past through the Camp and delivered a Letter from them to the *Mareschal de Luxembourg*, whereby the States acquainted that General with the Order they had given their Ambassadors at *Nimueguen* to sign the Peace, and communicated to him the Contents of the Letter which they wrote to his Majesty upon that Subject.

The Estates expressed to the King with what joy they understood by the answer of the first of that Month, given at his Camp at *Weteren*, that his Majesty was pleased to grant them a longer Truce, that they

might induce their Allies to accept of the Conditions he had proposed ; and that to give him all possible satisfaction they had omitted nothing that lay in their power. That though they could not promise themselves that all their Allies could concur with them in that particular, yet nevertheless they had given Orders to their Ambassadors to sign the Treaty about the end of the Month ; but that seeing they were assured that his Catholick Majesty would accept of the Peace with them , they besought his Majesty to put a stop to all acts of Hostility, and to cause his Army to draw off unto his frontiers, and to give Passports to the Vessels of their subjects that were abroad a fishing, to secure them from his Majesties men of War.

The affairs of *Spain* and *Holland* were in such a tendency towards Peace, that people expected within a few days to see conclusion of it, and the news of it was no less hourly expected at the *French* Court than at the *Hague*. But whilst no difficulty appeared on either side, of a sudden there was one started at *Nimueguen*, which not only put a stop to the signing of the Treaty, but had almost quite broke it off. In the project of the Treaty there was no mention made of the time wherein the *French* King

King was to deliver up the places to the Crown of *Spain* and *States-General*, being a thing not at all mentioned in the Conditions. The King pretended that it was not to be done till after the General Peace, and the full satisfaction of *Sueden*, in prospect whereof his Majesty condescended so much on his part. *Spain* and the *States-General* understood that the restitution of places ought to be immediately after the ratification of the Treaties. Nevertheless the Negotiation was managed in that manner until the very day before the Treaty was to be signed, without any thoughts of a clear explanation of that point.

The Marquess *de los Balbases* was the first that demanded an Explication as to the time of the restitution of the places. The *French* Ambassadors suspected several persons for having given occasion to that Ambassador to start the question. However it were, the Marquess *de los Balbases* had no sooner received that Umbrage, but that he went to the *Dutch* Ambassadors to inquire their opinions on that subject. These answered, that if the *French* pretended to delay the restitution beyond the exchange of the ratifications, it was a thing not meant by them; and immediately they went to desire the *French* Ambassadors to give them
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their Explication, which they would send to the *States-General* by an Express.

The Ambassadors of *France* told them, that the satisfaction of *Sueden* being the first of the Conditions proposed by the King their Master, without which his Majesty would have declared that he could not condescend to peace, it behoved that the Powers which accepted these conditions should contribute what in them lay, to procure satisfaction to *Sueden*; and that the retention of Places was the easiest means, which the King had in his hands, for obtaining it, without demanding that the same Powers who only accepted the conditions of peace, that they might so soon as they could free themselves from the misfortunes of War, should engage any other ways for procuring that satisfaction.

Notwithstanding all the Reasons that were alledged to justify the conduct of the *French* King, the *Heer Beverning* having received an answer from the *States-General*, declared to the *French* Ambassadors on the 25th, that he could not sign the Peace if the King did not remit his pretensions. But the *French* Ambassadors having no power to desist, it behoved them to stay for new Orders from the Court.

The Ministers of the Confederates, and all the ill affected, who with extream trouble saw that the Peace with the *Dutch* which was to be followed with that with *Spain*, was upon the point of being signed, failed not to make their best of that conjuncture which favoured their designs, and to do all they could to make the *Dutch* suspect the sincerity of *France*. It was the easier for them to succeed in this, that those very men who in the States had been the chief promoters of the Peace, exclaimed most against that new pretention. For seeing they were not willing to be suspected to have yielded to snares, wherewith they might have been surprized, they thought themselves obliged to appear the most stedfast and most resolute wholly to break off the Treaty, rather than to condescend to that point.

It is certain, that as the generosity of the *French* King towards the *States-General*, the amity which his Majesty expressed for them in his Letters, and his condescensions to a Peace with them, when they had greatest cause of fear, had on the one hand intircly gained the hearts of the *United Provinces*, so on the other hand the enemies of *France*, and those that envied its growth and greatness, made so good use of that juncture, to fill the peoples minds with distrust, that they

they began in good earnest to believe, that the *French* acted not sincerely with them, and that every Article of the Treaty contained some meaning disadvantageous to their Country.

The Ambassadors of *France* in the mean time declared to those of the *States-General* on the 30th, that they were ready to sign the Peace upon the Conditions that were stipulated betwixt them; and that seeing they had not mentioned to them the time of the restitution of *Maestricht* until the 25th, neither could they any sooner give their Master advice of the new clause that they would have added to the article which themselves had framed concerning that restitution; but that in the mean time they offered to sign the Treaties of Peace and Commerce in the manner as was agreed upon, that they might make it appear to the world, that they desired not to delay for one day the signing of a Peace, which all the people so impatiently longed for.

As to *Spain*, the same Ambassadors said, That if that Crown which had not as yet openly accepted neither the Peace nor Truce, did formally declare that without delay they embraced Peace upon the Conditions proposed, and did chuse one of the Alternatives touching *Dinant* and *Charle-*
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mont, it should appear that the King their Master desired nothing more than that Christendom should enjoy the repose which it might expect from his promises.

During these Debates, the *Heer Odyke* second Ambassador from the *States-General*, who had not hitherto stayed above two or three days at a time in *Nimueguen*, came thither with his whole family. He is of the House of *Nassau* by Prince *Maurice*, Brother of Prince *Henry* Grandfather to the Prince of *Orange*, to whose Interests he is wholly devoted; and not without reason, for he receives many favours from him, and has a considerable Revenue by reason that being the chief of the Nobles of *Zealand* in place of the Prince of *Orange*, he represents the Nobility in the States and Council of that Province. He is well bred and magnificent, loving company and pleasures; and has a particular dexterity in inventing of them.

There were still some hopes that the difficulties which put a stop to the signing of the Peace would be taken away; but by a Courier from the *French Court*, who arrived July 10. 1678, the *French Ambaf.* having received Order to signifie to the *Dutch*, that the King would not remit any as thing to the detention of the places, that he might obtain

tain satisfaction to *Sueden* ; one could not tell what to think of the Peace.

Whilst affairs were in this doubtful condition, news was brought to *Nimueguen*, that on the sixth of *July* there had happened at the Bridge of *Reinsfeld*, a sharp conflict betwixt a great Detachment of the *French* Army, and a like number of their enemies, who were so smartly attacked in their Trenches, and so briskly drove upon the Bridg, that many of them were killed and drowned, with some of their Generals; in so much that if the Bridg had not been quickly set on fire, the same thing perhaps might have befallen that Town which happened to *Valenciennes*, a considerable number of *French* Soldiers having entered into it pell-mell with those that run.

At that time the Duke of *Trimouille* sent the *Sieur de Sanguiniere*, a Counsellor of the *Chastelet* of *Paris*, to *Nimueguen*, with Letters of Procuration, and the Titles that justified the pretensions he had to the Kingdom of *Naples*, to the end that the same protestation might be made to the Mediators as was made to those of the Treaty of *Munster*, for preservation of the rights that he has to that Kingdom, by *Anne de Laval* of the House of *Arragon*, from whom that Duke descended in right line.

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The Mareshal d' *Estrades* his Lady arrived at *Nimueguen* the 12th, and was met by the *French* Ambassadors at *Moock* on the *Mense*, two Leagues from thence; where she disembarked. As all the *French* were very curious to be present at that first Interview, so the people of *Nimueguen* shewed no less desire of seeing that Lady. Immediately after her arrival all the Ambassadors and their Ladies rendered her their publick visits.

The Nuncio about this time received a Courier from *Rome*; but the cause of his coming was not fully known. Nevertheless seeing the noise of the Peace was already spread all over *Europe*, it was not doubted but that that Court desired to find some expedient that might remove the obstacles which hindered the Ambassadors of *France* from admitting the facultative Brief of the Nuncio, because the Pope had named none but the Emperour in it.

The Nuncio offered then three overtures to satisfy the *French* Ambassadors: the first was, to present a Brief in which no Prince should be named. The second, to give as many Briefs as there were Christian Princes in War, wherein every one might have the rank that he desired. And the third to follow the stile of the plenary Com-

Commissions of the *English* Mediators, by giving a Brief facultative to end the War which was betwixt the Emperour, *Spain*, *Holland*, and their Confederates on the one side ; and the most Christian King, the King of *Sueden* and their Allies on the other. But the *French* Ambassadors continued firm in their Pretensions, and would according to the ancient custom, have the King their Master named immediately after the Emperour ; and that was the reason why in all the Treaties of Peace that have been since concluded, there is no mention made of the Mediation of the Pope.

Notwithstanding of that conduct of the Nuncio, the pains he took in promoting of the peace, were as grateful to the *French* Ambassadors, as they were conducive to the repose of Christendom. That Mediator carried himself also in so different a manner from the former practice of Nuncio's, in regard of Protestant Princes, that it was not his fault if he did not visit all the Ambassadors that were at *Nimueguen*. He render'd the visit to the Envoy of *Osnabrug*, who had visited him ; and received the Protestants with as much civility as the Catholics ; which produced so good effects for the Catholick Interest in all these Provinces, and corresponded so well with the reputation

putation of the Pope, that on occasion of the Bull which was then believed the Pope would emit, one of the most eminent subjects of the States General said, *That their Ministers might well preach that the Pope was Antichrist; but that for his own part he was persuaded that this man was not.*

News came on the 13. That the *Mareschal de Schomberg* was advanced with Twenty thousand men towards *Duren* in the Countrey of *Juliers*; and that he had sent to demand of the City of *Cologne* the forty thousand Crowns, and twelve thousand of Interest, which that Town ought to restore to the *French King*, seeing that contrary to the Neutrality agreed upon at the first Assembly held there for the peace, the Magistrates suffered that money to be taken by the Garison. The Envoy of *Cologne*, who was at *Nimueguen*, demanded audience of the *French Ambassadors*; but they refused it, because he came to the Assembly without a Passport from *France*.

The *French Army*, which encamped at the gates of *Brussels*, so nettled the *Spaniards*, and incommoded the whole Countrey, that there happened some tumult in the Town, where *Don Pedro de Ronquillo* was accused for being the author of those counsels that delayed the conclusion of the

peace ; insomuch that it was affirmed for a certain, that the Duke *de Villa Hermosa* wrote to the Marquess *de los Balbases*, that he would make him accountable for the loss of the *Low-countries*, if with all diligence he did not conclude the peace.

The *French* Ambassadors still expected the last resolution of the States-General, that they might send back the Courier which the Marechal *de Luxembourg* had at *Nimueguen*, with the news according to which he was to take his measures, for putting into action, or drawing of the Armies he was upon the point to have marched towards the frontiers of *France*, upon the Letter of the States-General, wherein they informed him that they had given order to their Ambassadors to sign the Peace at *Nimueguen* : but the advice that the *French* Ambassadors gave him of the new difficulty which hinder'd the signing of it, made him to remain still in those parts.

My Lord Ambassador *Temple* parted for the *Hague* on the 14th. where finding no final resolution for concluding the peace, if the impediment which hinder'd the signing of it were not removed ; he bestirred himself with all industry to incline the States-General to enter into new engagements with the King his Master, that might procure

procure them and their Allies more advantageous conditions than those which *France* proposed to them. The *French* Ambassadors thought fit, in the mean time, to make publick the reasons that his most Christian Majesty had to retain the places until *Sueden* had satisfaction ; and for that end they caused to be printed the Memoir which on the 17th. they gave to the *Dutch* Ambassadors.

By this Paper it was given out, That the *French* King having equally espoused the Interests of *Sueden* with his own, and on that account only abandoned so many places, which was no less advantageous to the *Dutch* than *Spaniards* ; his Majesty had grounds to hope that these Powers would contribute with him for the re-establishment of that Crown , or at least that they would not oppose his design in making use of those places, as of a very proper expedient to procure the performance of a condition to which they agreed by accepting the peace. But since that the Kings Enemies endeavoured to render his Majesties word suspected, he was willing to engage with the States General in all the measures they should judg most convenient for procuring satisfaction to *Sueden*.

This Memoir being enlarged and published in way of a Manifesto, the States-General caused an Answer containing thirty pages to be made to it by their Ambassadors, which was printed in *French* and *Dutch*, and on the 25th given to the *French* Ambassadors.

It contained a long recital of all the Negotiation, whereby they alledged, that after all the favourable expressions that the King was pleased to use towards them, they could not believe that the sentiments of his Majesty agreed with the expressions of the Ambassadors Memoir. That they could not impute that emergent to any thing but the artifice of those who for private interests were against the publick peace. That in all the Negotiation no mention being made of *Sueden* to them, it would be unjust to pretend, that the King having demanded a neutrality from the States-General as an essential condition in their separate peace, they ought to give their places to be made use of against their Allies. That the States promised, as they had already done, to contribute what in them lay for the accommodation of the Northern powers, by all the good offices they were capable to perform; and they protested that it was not their fault if the peace were not presently brought to a happy conclusion.

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That Answer made it evidently appear, that the States-General had no design to condescend; and indeed they began to think of other measures: for their Deputies about Foreign affairs signed a second Treaty with Ambassador *Temple*, grounded on this, That the States-General having accepted the offers of his most Christian Majesty, and engaged that his Catholick Majesty should do the same as to what concerned him, they perceived to their grief that the Ministers of *France* opposed the peace by the refusal of delivering up the places. That therefore they were obliged to have recourse to his Majesty of *Great Britain*, to the end that if his Mediation with the most Christian King should prove ineffectual, he would protect so just a cause, and assist them with his forces.

This Treaty was still conditional as to the circumstance of time, and was not to take effect but in case they could not obtain from the *French* King a Declaration favourable to their pretensions, before the eleventh of *August*; and that his Majesty absolutely refused to render up the places upon the exchange of the Ratifications. In case of such a refusal, they agreed with his Majesty of *Great Britain* to declare War against *France*, that by united force they

might oblige that King to embrace the conditions stipulated by that Treaty. These conditions were far different from those which the *French* King proposed the 9th of *April*; but they were only specified for the Empire, *Spain*, and *Lorrain*.

Whilst that Treaty was concluding at the *Hague*, and that the Ministers at *Nimueguen* impatiently expected to know what resolution would at length be taken on either side concerning the restitution of places, the Marquess *de los Balbases* made some instances to the *French* Ambassadors to incline them to admit of the Marquess *de la Fuente*, that he might not have the displeasure of being come to that Assembly, and not have the power to sign the Treaty of peace; but they would not consent until that Ambassador produced a plenary Commission in the same form with the rest, and they were satisfied with a collationed copy which the Nuncio's Auditor gave them, without receiving the visit of that Ambassador, for the reason that I mentioned before.

The Marquess *de la Fuente*, that loves to be very gallant, resolved to treat the Ambassadors Ladies after the *Spanish* fashion; but seeing they visited no Ambassadors that wanted Ladies, they were invited in the
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name of the Marchioness of *Quintana*, who did the Honours of the Feast. The two *French* Ambassadors Ladies went thither, but the Ambassadors excused themselves, because they visited not the Marquess *de la Fuente*. Whether it was there, or that there had been before some difference betwixt the Servants of Monsieur *Colbert*, and the Marquess *de la Fuente*, which might have occasioned some resentment ; it happened that this time a Lackey belonging to Monsieur *Colbert* was somewhat ill used at the Gate ; this Footman did the like to one of the Servants of the Marquess *de la Fuente*, the first time that they came to the house of Monsieur *Colbert* ; in so much that the difference made such noise, that the Nuncio thought fit to take cognizance of it, and to make both sides promise that the matter should go no further.

The same day being the 29th, the *French* Ambassadors by a Courier-Express, received Orders from Court, according to which they framed a Memoir, which they gave to the *Dutch* Ambassadors, whereby they signified to them that the satisfaction of a King in Alliance with the King their Master, being the sole end that his Majesty proposed to himself in the present affair of the retention of Places, he would willingly admit of

all Propositions that might tend to that end, and that for that effect he would come as far as *St. Quentin*, to hear what the States had to propose to him by Deputies, assuring them that they would find him so equitably inclined, that they should have no more cause to doubt of the sincerity wherewith his Majesty had begun and continued to treat with them concerning Peace.

The *Dutch* Ambassadors had nothing to answer to these Propositions; they said, That they saw no expedient to remove that difficulty which was made about the restitution of the places; that if the *French* Ambassadors had any, they might propose them; and that their Masters did not think that a deputation upon that subject would be to any purpose.

It seemed that the mistrust which the Ambassadors entertained mutually of one another, upon occasion of the impediment that stopt the conclusion of the Peace, and even infected their Servants; for the accommodation that I just now spoke, which was made two days before, did not so appease either party, but that on the last of *July* at night there happened amongst them a scuffle of far more dangerous consequence,

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That evening there was a great Rendezvous at the House of the *Heer Odyke*, and as it was on a *Saturday* they intended to stay by it, and drank to their wives. The *French* Ambassadors had notice given them about ten of the Clock, that the Servants of the Duke of *St. Peter* had been there with Arms. They immediately acquainted the Nuncio with it, who had concerned himself in adjusting that Quarrel, who was not indeed wanting in giving necessary Orders about it: But about Eleven of the Clock at night, the Marquess *de la Fuente* his Pages, who had been the Authors of the first difference, went and fired some Pistols about the House of Monsieur *Colbert*, which made the Servants of the *French* Ambassadors to provide against what might happen.

The Company being set down to Table at the House of the *Heer Odyke*, the *French* Ambassadors observed that all the Servants of the *Spanish* were about the Table, and filled the Hall, whilst they were without attendance according to their custom, that they might not pester the house they went to. This made them send to call all their Gentlemen to come and wait on them, to stand behind them, and to order their Pages to serve them. These Orders presently obeyed, so surprized the *Spaniards*, and
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especially the Ladies, that for some time there was not a word spoken at Table. The *Heer Odyke* thought himself obliged to rise from Table, and reassume the Ladies by inviting them to eat ; but he was no sooner up, but that the *Spaniards* and Company rose likewise.

The Marq. *de los Balbases* with his whole Family, and the Marquess *de la Fuente*, took leave of the Company at the very instant, and went home in four Coaches, without telling why, or informing themselves of the reason of that proceeding.

The *Spanish* Ambassadors passed by the House of the Marechal *d' Estrades*, which was not twelve-score paces distant from thence, where all the Livery-men belonging to the *French* Ambassadors were shut up, for fear of some disorder, to which they were observed to be much inclined. Three Coaches had already past, when some of those who were in the fourth with Arms, fired a Carabin at the Gate of the Marechal *d' Estrades* his House. Perhaps they did it only in *bravado*, thinking they might safely do it, since they saw the Gate shut ; but at this shot, whereof the Bullets left impression on the Gate, all the Servants that were in the House finding themselves insulted over, snatched up what Arms they could

could find, opened the Gate, and ran after the Coaches, who again firing upon them, were answered in the same kind.

The *French* Ambassadors were in the mean time in Discourse with the *Heer Odyke*, and complained of the extraordinary carriage of the *Spaniards*, and of their numerous attendants; but the Gentlemen who were with them, having heard the first shots, ran thither in all haste, and coming up with those Servants that were about to attack the Coaches, with much ado stopt them. They came certainly in the nick of time, for finding none on their side wounded, and none to engage with but Coaches, wherein were so many Ladies of quality, amongst whom was the Dutches of *St. Peter* ready to be brought to bed; they so ordered the matter by threatening their people, that the tumult went no farther.

The *Spaniards* had cause of fear at that time; their Lacqueys threw away their Flamboys, and their Coachmen put to a gallop through the Market-place, and along a descending Street at the end whereof they lodged. The whole Town was alarmed at the noise of shot about two of the Clock in the morning. The Town-guard sent the Court of Guard, and did not appear, and
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all people ran to the windows. But a stop was put to this tumult in a trice, and amongst so many people there were none but a *Spanish* Coachman wounded in the foot, and a *French* Lacquey in the hand.

The Mediators, and especially the Nuncio, employed themselves next day to compose that difference. The *Spaniards* would never confess publicly that they were the aggressors. Nevertheless seeing it was but a scuffle amongst Servants, it was consented to on either hand, that the *French* Ambassadors and the Marquess *de los Balbases*, should each of them send to the Nuncio, and the Lord Ambassador *Jenkins*, a Gentleman, with some Servants in Livery, to be delivered into their hands, and to intreat them to cause what punishment they thought fit to be inflicted on them, for transgressing the Orders that were made against their carrying of Arms. But seeing the *French* Ambassadors had not owned the Marquess *de la Fuente* for an Ambassador, they would not suffer him to make any kind of satisfaction, though his Servants were known to have been the first Authors of that disorder.

August 1678, this was put in execution the third of *August*; but the *Spanish* Ladies having

having been extreamly discomposed by an accident, which they unawares expected, the *French* Ambassadors sent to compliment them severally. The Gentleman whom they sent on that errand, spoke to the Marchioness *de los Balbases*, her Husband being present, to this effect in *Italian*: *That the Ambassadors his Masters were vexed that an unexpected accident should have given her Ladiskip any trouble; but that they doubted not, but as she was perswaded that they had always endeavoured to entertain good correspondence, so she did not believe but that they likewise condemned the least thing that might displease her, and whatever was inconsistent with the respect that they professed to have for persons of her quality.* That Gentleman made such another compliment to the Dutchess of *St. Peter*, and the Marchioness *de Quintana*; and some days after, the Assemblies for diversion, which were thought wholly laid aside, began to be kept again as before.

At that time the *Heer Boreel* Envoy Extraordinary from the *States-General* arrived at *Nimueguen*; his arrival was taken as a good presage for the Peace of *Holland*; for the *States*, as I have said, had employed him to incline the Duke *de Villa Hermosa* to accept the Conditions proposed by the *French King*. And the interest of the Town
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of *Amsterdam*, the place of his birth, being very dear unto him, it was not doubted but that he was very zealous for the Peace.

The Marechal of *Luxembourg* sent at the same time to *Nimueguen*, the *Sieur de Ville-vart* Captain of his Guards, to make a Protestation to the Mediators against the detention of the Dutchy of *Luxembourg*, which falling to the heir-female, ought to belong to him in right of his Wife, as he proved by her Genealogy, and by the Laws and Customs of that Dutchy.

The Ambassador of *Brandenbourg* perceiving by the copy of the Memoir which the *French* Ambassadors had given to the *Dutch*, for justifying the detention of the Places, that the *French* King had openly declared that it was his design to make use of them for carrying the War into the Dominions of the Elector his Master, in favours of *Sueden*, made a long remonstrance, which he gave to the Ambassadors of the *States-General*. He represented to them that his Master, their neighbour and good friend, had ventured all, and suffered much for the preservation and settlement of their Republick; that he had grounds to hope that the *States-General* would not comply with so pernicious designs contrary to the faith
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of their Treaties; but on the contrary, that they would be no less careful to procure a Barrier on the side of the *Rhine*, than they had been for obtaining one in *Flanders*; and that the preservation of the Country of *Cleves* was no less necessary for their security than the frontiers of their own Country.

On the second of *August* the *French* Ambassadors received Orders from Court by an Express, to make new Instances to the *States-General* to incline them to send Deputies to *Ghent*, assuring them that they should there find his Majesty as well disposed as they could desire, to surmount all obstacles that hindered the conclusion of the Peace. It was generally believed that the *French* King did really design to remove all those difficulties; but all the Confederates did equally bestir themselves to hinder the States from complying with his Majesties intentions; and amongst the other reasons that they alledged to take them off from sending Deputies, the disgrace which they said it was, that their Peace was not treated by their Ambassadors in the general Assembly at *Nimueguen*, made not the smallest impression on their minds.

In so much that by the answer which the Ambassadors and Envoy Extraordinary made

made on the 4th, no hopes appeared of finding any expedient of removing the impediment that retarded the Peace. They said that they were overjoyed to see that the King still testified a sincere inclination for the Peace; but it extreamly troubled them that they found him so wedded to the satisfaction of *Sueden*, of which neither *Spain* nor the States possessed any thing of that which was to be the greatest part of it; that they would always profess the profound respect they had for his Majesty, and that they would comply with him in any thing he could desire of them; but that they perceived not to what purpose it could be to send Deputies either to *St. Quentin* or *Ghent*; since they had no expedient to offer, but the evacuation of the Places; that if it pleased his Majesty to propose any one for facilitating the conclusion of the Peace, they were ready to sign it; that they had not made any contrary engagements; but with this respect to his Majesty, that they should take no effect, unless that he refused to evacuate the places upon the exchange of the Ratifications.

The Confederates were not a little troubled to see that a word of the *French* King could conclude a Peace, which overthrew all

all their projects, and banished those hopes wherewith they still flattered themselves. But that King had so openly declared, that he made but one and the same affair of the interests of *Sueden* and his own; that unless that Crown would desist, he could not abandon the engagement he had taken to procure its satisfaction.

Seeing the Confederates were perswaded that an obstacle clogged with such conditions could not easily be removed, and the rather that there remained but five days of the time that the *States* had prefixed for entering into a League with *England*, from which they could not flinch back, they despaired not of seeing the *Dutch* Peace evanish. In the mean time the news that was brought to *Nimueguen* of the birth of the Archduke, filled them all with joy, but especially the *Imperialists*, who expressed it by publick rejoicing and largesses.

The *French* Ambassadors in the mean while received a Courier from Court; and according to the Instructions that he brought them, they framed the Memoir of the 6th, whereby they declared to the Ambassadors of the *State-General*, that seeing the King had no design in the retention of the places, but to comply with the Ambassadors of *Sueden*, who judged it necessary

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sary for the re-establishment of their affairs, his Majesty was willing to desist from that pretension now that the same Ambassadors consented to it; but in that Memoir the *French* Ambassadors added, that the *States-General* should send Deputies to their King, as well for adjusting the means of warranting the obligation of Neutrality, into which they promised that *Spain* should enter, as to concert expedients for procuring the satisfaction of *Sueden*.

Distrust had so seized the minds of some, and was so well fomented by those who had cause to be afraid of that Peace, that it was not very strange that that Proposition how simple soever it was, occasion'd new jealousies in the *Dutch*. They were afraid to be drawn in farther than they desired, & said that since the King was pleased to remove the great impediment which hindered the Peace; the *French* Ambassadors could no longer persist in demanding that they should send Deputies to his Majesty, unless they had some reasons which concealed designs quite different from the pretext they took; so that they seemed further off than they were before.

The same Courier brought back the Declaration which the *Suedish* Ambassadors had made to the *French* the 17. of *July*, concerning their desisting from the pretension

sion of retaining the places ; but they were unwilling to communicate the same, until they knew whether the King approved of it in the form that it was drawn up in.

That Declaration bore, That notwithstanding the just and general design of the *French* King to procure satisfaction to the King their Master ; yet they left it to his Majesties consideration, whether after all the oppositions that he met with in it, it was better to delay the restitution of the places in prospect of a general peace, than to grant it for obtaining a separate peace with *Spain* and *Holland*. That for their own parts who had no free correspondence with the King their Master, and had instructions in general to conform to the pleasure of *France*, they were assured that the King of *Sueden* would be satisfied with what his most Christian Majesty thought fit to resolve upon ; not doubting but that his Royal prudence could find out means enough as suitable to his Glory, and the re-establishment of his Ally, as the retention of places was.

To this the Ambassadors added 7. reasons to evince, that it was the common Interest of both Crowns instantly to conclude a separate peace with *Spain* and *Holland*, to take off those two Powers which supported their Enemies : and by seven other reasons they

made appear, That his most Christian Majesty might have no less renown in accomplishing his designs by other means, that might make evident to the world the sincerity of his intentions, and which at the same time might give him opportunity to make the ill affected, who endeavoured to render them suspected, sensible of his resentment.

By this it seemed that the *Suedish* Ambassadors foresaw the future as well as they could at the present time; however it be, they clearly saw that the obstacles which hinder'd the peace were otherways insuperable; and since they were obliged to consent to the evacuation of the places, they might hope that the *French* King would not want other means of procuring full satisfaction to the King of *Sueden*. Nevertheless that Prince found the retention of places of such importance to the re-establishment of his affairs, that not being informed in time of the urgent reasons which obliged his Ambassadors to consent to the waving of that pretension, he professed himself much offended at their conduct.

The Count of *Provana*, Envoy from the Dutchess of *Savoy*, arrived at *Nimueguen* on the eighth; he came to demand of the *Spaniards* the portion of the *Infanta*, *Catharina*,

rina, Great Grandmother to the young Duke of *Savoy*; or at least he came to have that debt owned by an Article of the Treaty which was to be made betwixt *France* and *Spain*, as it was at the Treaty of *Munster*, and the *Pyrenean*. What repugnancy soever he met with on the *Spanish* part, the *French* obtained him his demand.

Ambassador *Temple* finding the term which the *States-General* had taken before they would enter into the Engagements of the Treaty that he had signed with them, now to draw near, came on the eighth to *Nimueguen*. All men were persuaded that his errand was not to facilitate the signing of the Peace, nor to bring the distant parties to a nearer accommodation as to the conclusion of it. His proceedings appeared all along too contrary to the character of a Mediator to make that to be believed. In the mean time on the 9th in the evening, the Ambassadors of the *States-General* had a long conference with the *French*: they represented to them the short time that remained for ending that great work, the accomplishment whereof was only retarded by a difficulty which ought not to seem of great importance to them, in comparison of the great advantages which the peace would produce; and seeing they had not time to

translate into *French* the Memoir which they had to give in concerning that, they contented themselves to tell them the substance of it.

The *French* Ambassadors made no answer to the instances of the *Dutch*, but that their hands were tied, and that without new Orders they could proceed no further. At length the tenth came, which was the great day that was to give a happy beginning to the repose of *Europe*, or quite quash all hopes of it for a long time. Nevertheless there appeared no hope that the peace could be signed that day; and it could not be conceived why the refusal of a deputation, which was not absolutely necessary, should put a stop to the accomplishment of so great a good. The *Hier Odyke* returned to the *Hague* the 7th. because he had lost all hopes of peace; but both by reason that he believed that the tenth day might produce some change in affairs, and that he had Orders from the Prince of *Orange* to make on the eleventh a protestation in name of the States against all that could be concluded, if that day past without signing the peace; he came back the same day in haste to *Nimueguen*.

The *Hier Borcel*, Envoy Extraordinary from the States-General, went at nine in the

the morning to wait on the Marshal D' *Estrades*, and gave him the Memoir made the day before, wherein the States-General thanked his Majesty for the care which he still took to remove all obstacles that occurred in the conclusion of the peace, not only with them, but *Spain* also; and prayed his Majesty to consider, that the enemies of their State having represented to them the evacuation of the places, and the peace at the same time as desperate, they had been obliged to enter into engagements with the King of *Great Britain*, not to stave off the peace; but to take from them the pretext they made use of, and to clear his Majesty from being the cause of the same. That for that end they had reserved to themselves a certain time, which being ready to expire, suffered them not to make the deputation that his Majesty desired; but not doubting but that since all the conditions were at present agreed upon, the peace would be signed before the eleventh, they would not fail to make a deputation, not to *St. Quentin*, but to *Paris*, to give his Majesty the testimonies of their respect, and of the satisfaction they had from the conclusion of the peace.

M. *Colbert*, and the Count D' *Avaux*, went at the same time to the Marshal D'

Estrades house; but being unwilling to meet the *Heer Boreel* there, because they designed all three to go that morning to the House of the *Dutch* Ambassadors, and to tell them their last resolution, they let the *Heer Boreel* come out without seeing him; and immediately after they all three took coach, and went to the *Dutch* Ambassadors.

It was believed so certainly that the *French* Ambassadors had no power to sign the peace, that Ambassador *Temple* himself advised those of *Holland* to press them to it, because he really believed they could not do it. Nevertheless the *French* Ambassadors declared to them in that conference, that they had power to sign their Treaties of Peace and Commerce; and that it must be done the same morning, if it were possible. The *Dutch* being no less persuaded than the rest of the Confederates, that without new Orders the *French* could conclude nothing, were no less surprized than overjoyed at that proposition. All the Articles about which there had been any debate, were read over; and they agreed to sign the Peace that day. But seeing that conference had lasted from ten of the clock in the morning, until half an hour after two in the afternoon, and that some time

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was still required to write over the Treaties fair, the signing was delayed until the evening.

The *French* Ambassadors had found by experience, the importance of secrecy for carrying on such a Negotiation to a happy end, in so great an Assembly, where there were almost as many persons to be feared, as there were Ambassadors; and where there was no less disposition to conceive jealousies of the conduct of *France*, than it was easie for the Confederates to create new grounds of distrust; and that was the cause why the *French* Ambassadors pretended to the last, that they could not sign the peace, upon pretext of a very slight obstacle, to the end that the conclusion having almost nothing to hinder it, they might in an instant surprise those who expected nothing less than such a change.

The length of the *French* and *Dutch* conference had already so alarm'd the Confederates, that they were all in commotion before it was ended; but they were very sensibly touched when they came to know that the peace was concluded, and that it was to be signed that day without any possibility of hindering it. It troubled them the more, that they found *England* acting in their favours in the same manner as they had long desired.

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Ambassador *Temple* could not forbear to evidence his discontent to the *French* Ambassadors, who went all three together to visit him in the afternoon, and to acquaint him, that if he thought fit they would sign the Treaty at his house ; for upon pretext of some indisposition, he received them in his night-cap and gown, and absolutely refused their offers: whether it was that he had instructions so to do, or that he despaired not (for all the matter was gone so far) but that before night some impediment might arise that might break off the conclusion thereof.

That Mediator so little expected that the peace should be concluded that day, that he had a Messenger ready in his house to part at midnight, and to carry news to the States-General of the expiration of the term, which engaged them to the execution of the Treaty that they had signed: and that he might let the *French* Ambassadors see more clearly that the Mediation approved not that Treaty, he prayed them to put his own and Colleagues names out of the Preface; saying, that the King their Master had not sent them as Mediators to a General Treaty, there to sign a Separate Peace.

The Ambassadors of *Denmark* and *Brandenbourg*, with the Bishop of *Munster*, did all they could to hinder the signing of the peace: They framed a protestation in the terms that were most proper to express their resentment: They declared to the Ambassadors of the *States-General*, That the resolution they had taken of abandoning their Confederates, was contrary to the faith of the leagues they had so religiously contracted; that they conjured them by all that was sacred, that they would not proceed with so much precipitation to the signing of a separate peace, in a time when they had all taken vigorous resolutions, and agreeable to the desires of the *States-General*, in sending vast numbers of Forces into the *Spanish Netherlands* for the relief of *Mons*, which was reduced to extremity.

They further added, That such a hasty and precipitate conduct was unworthy of a State, that had always governed it self with reason and justice; and that so extraordinary a step would be an everlasting blot to the honour and reputation of the *States-General*: That if notwithstanding of all that, they were resolved to proceed, and to enter into a Neutrality so contrary to their Engagements, they protested against that separate Treaty, and against all
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the calamities that Christendom in general, and the Princes their Masters in particular might suffer by that separation.

Those who considered without passion the conduct of the *Dutch*, found that they were unjustly accused of having acted without acquainting their Confederates ; since that by the publick Declarations which they themselves had given to the *Dutch* Ambassadors on the 10th and 20th of the preceding Month, they took notice of the necessity to which the *United-Provinces* were reduced. And the *States-General* were very far from acting with precipitation, seeing they signed not the Peace until the last day of the time that they had agreed to with *England*, in case that *France* removed (as was then done) all the impediments that for more than six weeks obstructed the signing thereof. In a word, it was an easie matter for the Northern Confederates, to exhort the *Dutch* to wait patiently, when according to their own confession their affairs were in a better state, and who daily found new advantages in continuing the War with *Sueden* ; whilst notwithstanding of all the forces that were in the *Low-countries*, the *French* King took as many places as he pleased, and *Holland* ran on into utter ruin,

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The desire of the *States-General* being conform to the intentions of *France* as to the Peace ; nothing could stop the signing of it ; all diligence was used to have the Treaties ready, and at eleven of the Clock at night the *Dutch* Ambassadors came to the house of the Marechal d' *Estrades* in two Coaches with many Flamboys to light them. The two Treaties of Peace and Commerce were there signed betwixt eleven and twelve of the Clock at night, with a separate article concerning the *States* which the Prince of *Orange* possesses in the Provinces that are under the dominion of the *French* King.

The Ambassadors wished one another mutual joy for the re-establishment of the good correspondence which had been interrupted by the War, and the joy was great and reciprocal amongst all their servants and attendants ; but it appeared especially among the servants of the *Dutch* Ambassadors, who upon their return knocked at all the Towns-peoples doors, calling to them in *Dutch* that the Peace was made. Next day the Marquess d' *Estrates* who was at *Nimueguen*, parted to carry those two Treaties to the *French* King ; and the Ambassadors had the satisfaction to find by the first dispatches they received, even before the news

news was brought to Court, that all they had done should be conform to his Majesties intentions, who upon information of the signing of the Peace, acquainted them that he was very well satisfied with the wise conduct they had observed in so great an Affair.

Seeing the *Spaniards* were engaged to the *States General* jointly to accept of the peace on the conditions proposed by *France*; and that the States by the thirteenth Article of the Treaty which they had signed, were Guarantees to the *French* King of all the obligations to which *Spain* was to be bound, and especially to that of an exact Neutrality; the *Dutch* Ambassadors would lose no time in promoting the peace of *Spain*, but on that occasion performed the office of Mediators, as it was necessary they should, since the *English* had in a manner excused themselves from mediating, by refusing to propose the conditions of the ninth of *April*, and to sign the peace with the *Dutch*.

The news that were brought of the advantages which the *French* Army obtained daily over the Forces of the Empire, made it probable that after the peace with *Spain*, which began seriously to be treated, it would not be long before the Emperor
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and Empire came to an accommodation. The Marshal *de Crequi* had ruin'd the Fort of *Kiel*, at the end of the bridg of *Strasbourg*, on the side of *Germany*; and having burnt the Bridg, and raised the Fort on the other side, he very much incommoded that great City, and made them apprehensive of the same fate that had befallen all those places which the *French* had attacqued.

In the mean while the *States General*, who looked upon the peace of *Spain* to be as necessary for their repose, and the renewing of their Commerce, as their own peace, made the success of that Negotiation their own particular affair. It was, indeed, expected in *Holland*, that those two Treaties should be signed at the same time; and therefore the joy which the people conceived upon the conclusion of the former, was much lessened by the fear they had that the second would not be so soon concluded as was desired; but seeing both parties were equally desirous of the same, the *French* Ambassadors went first to the Ambassadors of the *States General*, and there exchanged the projects of peace betwixt *France* and *Spain*.

That they might the better facilitate the Treaty, and conclude it with as little loss of time as possibly could be, they agreed

to meet at the House of the *Dutch* Ambassadors ; and for that effect they gave one of their Chambers, which was at the end of their Hall of Audience, to the *French* Ambassadors ; another that had an Entry from the Porch , was for the Ambassadors of *Spain* ; and all the Gentlemen belonging to the several Ambassadors , stayed in the Hall of Audience, which served for a passage to the *Heer Beverning* , who accompanied with the *Heer Haaren*, applied himself industriously to remove the difficulties that happened in that Negotiation , carrying back and for, from one Chamber to another, all the controverted Articles.

Mr. *Beverning* is no less a man of dispatch, than knowledg and ability ; and therefore in the Conferences of the thirteenth, which lasted four hours in the morning, and as long after dinner , a great part of the Articles of the Treaty with *Spain*, were condescended to , and agreed upon : but the fourteenth, being *Sunday*, the Conferences were interrupted , and all people were surprised to hear that Ambassador *Temple* parted that day from *Nimueguen*, about four of the clock in the morning, for the *Hague*, where perhaps he had still hopes of bringing some obstacle to the ratification of the Treaty, though he could not hinder the signing of it. In

In the mean while seeing it is almost impossible that so important an affair as the Negotiation of a peace betwixt two potent States can be so happily ended, and no unexpected accident fall out that may hinder the conclusion of it; several obstacles arose in the course of this Treaty which retarded it much longer than was expected. It was hoped that the Conferences would be renewed on the fifteenth; but that day the *Dutch* Ambassadors made report to the *French*, that the design the *French* King had of retaining *Bouvignes* and *Beaumont*, put a stop to the Treaty, and might quite break it off. If his Majesty persisted in his pretensions to those two places, whereof the one is a little Town almost ruined, situated upon a hill below *Dinant*; and the other a Bourg without fortifications, lying towards *France*, in the Countrey betwixt the *Meuse* and the *Sambre*.

It is true, that in the project of the peace no mention was made neither of *Bouvignes* nor *Beaumont*; and that they were not named in the printed Conditions. But to that the *French* Ambassadors made answer, That they were in the Conditions which the *French* King had proposed to his Majesty of *Great Britain*, who by his Ambassadors had

communicated the same to all the Ministers of the Princes that were at *Nimueguen*; and seeing his Majesty had in his Conditions of the ninth of *April* named precisely all the places which he intended to restore to *Spain*, and not all those which his Majesty resolved to retain, these were necessarily comprehended amongst the last, seeing they were in actual possession of the *French*, and of too small importance to be expressly named in the Conditions.

Whilst these difficulties put a stop to the Treaty at *Nimueguen*, there was a report spread abroad of the defeating of the *French* Army before *Mons*; into which it was affirmed that great relief was put during the Fight. The truth was, that the Prince of *Orange* having drawn together the Forces of *Holland*, *Spain*, and the Confederates, resolved to attempt the relieving of it on the fourteenth, afternoon; the hopes he had of succeeding in that enterprise with so great forces, and of ending so many Campaigns by a famous action, which till then had been so unfortunate to him, concurring with the urgent instances of the *Marquess de Grana*, Envoy extraordinary from the Emperor, were motives powerful enough to incline him to give battel, and to make the best of so fair an opportunity.

opportunity. Many have thought that that Prince had advice by an Express from *Nimueguen*, that the peace was concluded there on the tenth; but however it be, having had no information thereof from the *States-General*, he was not obliged to know it.

The Marshal of *Luxemburgh*, who had received advice of the Peace by an Express from the *French* Ambassadors, could not persuade himself that the Enemies who appeared on the Eminencies of the Abbey of *St. Denis*, had a design to attacque him. But when it was past all doubt, and that he perceived they had possessed themselves of the Village of *Casteau*, he passed over the rivolet that divided his Camp from that post, with some Regiments of Horse, Dragoons and foot; these Troops, led by the best Officers of the Army, marched through narrow passes, gullies, and unfrequented ways, beset by the Enemies on the right and left, and had a smart and bloody engagement; but the *French* retook *Casteau* and set it on fire, with less loss on their side than on that of the Enemy's, though the fight continued till night put an end to the action.

Next morning the Prince of *Orange* sent a Messenger to the Camp, to acquaint the

Marshal of *Luxemburgh* that the peace betwixt *France* and the *States-General* was signed the tenth ; and that he had not received the news of it until that night. He therefore desired, that since the countenance of affairs was changed, he might be permitted to send a Convoy unto *Mons.* But the General refused it, seeing he could not consent thereunto till he had received Orders from Court.

This action of the Prince of *Orange* received various constructions, and was not altogether approved by the *States-General*, who saw to their regret, so many brave soldiers uselessly sacrificed to private interests. Nor was it well relished in *England*, because two thousand of the ancient Regiments of his Majesty of *Great Britains* forces, who were in the States service, were totally routed in that Engagement. The particulars of that Fight being brought to *Nimueguen*, undeceived the Confederates, who were at first informed that the success of it was much more advantageous to them than indeed it was.

The Nuncio, who was very solicitous for promoting the General Peace, by means of the Imperialists inclined all the Confederates to a Months truce. He was hopeful that in that time the Negotiation might have

have some success; and that Truce had been concluded, if the Bishop of *Gurck*, who then returned from *Cologne*, had not broken all the measures that were taken in his absence. The impediment which the Confederates observed to be put to the Peace of *Spain*, made them less concerned to make their own. But the *Heer Beverning* being gone to the *Hague*, made many hope that that Minister would bring from thence some expedient to remove the difficulties that put a stop to that Negotiation; and that at the same time he would have assurance of the Ratifications of the *Dutch* Peace.

In the mean time, since by the Letters which the *States General* wrote to the *French King* the 22. of *June*, they entreated his Majesty to grant them Passports for the security of their Merchant Ships; a Courier brought a great many from Court to the *French Ambassadors*; but they would not exchange them at *Nimueguen* for a like number with the *Dutch Ambassadors*. It behoved the *Dutch* to deliver theirs first at *Maastricht*, into the hands of the Post-Master of *France*, who was to acquaint the Court that he had received them. But seeing it was not just that the subjects of the *States-General* should have freedom to trade

alone with the Passports of *France*, whilst the subjects of that King might suffer prejudice by the *Spanish* men of War, notwithstanding the Passport of the States; the *Dutch* Ambassadors engaged themselves to procure from the Duke *de Villia Hermosa*, as many Passports for the *French*, as *France* should give to the States.

The *French* King continued to testify the sincerity of his intentions by ratifying the Treaty of Peace without delay. On the 22. a Courier brought the Ratification to *Nimueguen*; and at the same time his Majesty appointed the Count *d'Arana* to be his Ambassador Extraordinary to the *States-General*. The terms wherein his Majesty wrote to them on that subject, testified the affection that he had for that Republick, by the choice he made of a subject whom he judged the fittest to renew the ancient ties of amity which the late times had interrupted.

The Ambassadors of *Denmark* and *Brandenbourg*, who could not but with great trouble see the great disposition that appeared for the Peace of *Spain*, made the same day a vigorous Remonstrance to the Ambassadors of that Crown. They doubted not, but that the glory that was to be acquired in signifying the same constancy after the

the unexpected signing of the *Dutch Peace*, would render them stedfast and unshaken in the observation of their Treaties of Alliance. They said that their Masters desired nothing more than the repose of Christendom; but that their Enemy proposed the Law to them, instead of admitting a Treaty upon the conditions which might conduce to a General Peace.

These Ambassadors employed afterwards all their Eloquence to divert *Spain* from the course they saw it taking; they represented to them, That the constancy of that Crown was alone capable to reclaim those who had deviated from their duty through the influence of the Cabal, and the levity of some who understood not how dear faith and sincerity ought to be to a Free State. That what *France* left to *Spain* by that Peace, in the *Netherlands*, was rather to exhaust its Treasures, than that they intended to leave that crown in the peaceable possession thereof. That they hoped *Spain* would not yield to the common Enemy the glory of being more constant in favours of their Allies, than themselves. In fine, that if their Masters found themselves forsaken and abused, they would have care another time how they helped to quench the fire, since they saw themselves so ill rewarded for their pains.

On the 24. the Articles that were made betwixt the two Armies, were brought to *Nimueguen*. They were both at the same time to draw off to an equal distance from before *Mons* ; but the Troops that blocked up the place, were not to retire till two days after. In the mean time there were various reports of the Ratification of the States-General. All the Provinces at that time held their several Assemblies to give their resolutions as to that point to the States, who seemed less inclined than the Provinces to keep their word, and correspond with the exactitude with which *France* seemed to act in execution of the signed Treaty.

The *Heer Beverning* returned to *Nimueguen* on the 27. where having conferred with Ambassador *Jenkins*, who had received new instructions from *England*, he had audience of the *French* Ambassadors, and would have them to understand that his Masters were so far engaged to procure the peace of *Spain*, that they would be very glad to see the difficulties that hinder'd the conclusion of it, removed, before they ratified the Peace which they themselves had made ; and that his Majesty of *Great Britain* had by Mr. *Hyde* his Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary, whom he had

had sent purposely to the *Hague*, made very pressing instances to them on that subject in favour of *Spain*.

The truth is, the expressions of the Memoir which that Ambassador gave to the *States-General* on the 25th agreed not with the procedure that *England* had hitherto held for promoting of the peace. That King made known to the *States* that he was surprised to understand that they had signed a separate peace without including *Spain*, and without any Guarantee for the evacuation of the places within the time limited. That since the new pretensions which *France* formed to the County of *Beaumont* and the Town of *Bouvignes*, retarded the accomplishment of the peace, his Majesty thought that the condition put into the last Treaty was fallen ; and that he and the *States-General* were equally obliged to enter into a joynt War against *France*. That if the *States* would refuse to ratifie what they had signed at *Nimueguen*, his Majesty of *Great Britain* offers to declare actual War against *France*.

The *States-General* having already made great instances to the King of *England*, that he would use his power with the *French* King for obtaining for them the Neutrality of the Countrey of *Cleves*
and

and *Juliers*, the Ambassador of his Majesty of *Great Britain* by the same Memoir assured them, That the King his Master knowing it to be no less necessary to the States, that their *Provinces* should be covered on that side, than on the side of *Flanders*, he was ready upon that account to enter with them into what measures they should judge convenient; and that the obtaining of that security depended only on themselves.

In the mean time the Forces that were newly raised in *England* for the assistance of the *Low-countries*, passed daily over into *Flanders* by *Ostend*. Some of them at *Bruges* upon a mistake had suffered a Riot from the Rabble upon the account of Religion; and the *Flemings*, who are Catholics, were not well pleased with Heretical succors. But the *Spaniards*, who found in their Confederates, and the King of *Great Britain*, so great a disposition of maintaining their Interests, rested satisfi'd, and shewed no more desire for the conclusion of the peace.

They found some advantage by that delay; for the *French* Forces being now by the Treaty of *Mons* retired out of the *Spanish* Territories, attempted no enterprise; and *France* being uncertain of the issue of the *Spanish* peace, and of the ratification of the *Dutch* Treaties, their Forces could not
march

march into *Germany*, where they had already ruined the affairs of the Emperor and Empire. Besides, the *Spaniards* by the debates which they started concerning the difficulties in which they were so well supported, in some manner saved the honour of their Nation; and they had at least the advantage of not receiving the Law without disputes and oppositions; which was so far from rendering their conditions worse, that it could not, on the contrary, but procure for them more advantageous terms.

On the first of *September* 1678. the *French* Ambassadors by an Express from Court received new instructions, and in the conference which they had the same day with the *Dutch* Ambassadors, they told them, That for the good of the general peace, they had power to remit in their pretensions. So that next day the conferences were again renewed at the house of the *Dutch* Ambassadors, who carried the propositions and answers back and for, betwixt the *French* and *Spaniards*, who were in several rooms. The Articles in controversy were adjusted on the mornings and forenoons meetings. Next day they continued; but the difficulties that were raised concerning the condition of the places which

which the *French* King was to deliver up, as well in respect of Ammunition and Artillery, as of the Fortifications, hindered the Treaty from any great progress.

Those whom it most concerned to prevent the peace with *Spain*, omitted nothing that could put a stop to it; and upon a pretext that *France* kept not to the sole Articles of the ninth of *April*, they made great noise in *England*, and engaged his Majesty of *Great Britain* so far, by many proceedings conform to their intentions, that in the sequel it would not be easie for him to abandon any of their concerns. One of the chief means they made use of at *Nimueguer*, to break off the peace with *Spain*, was to get the Mediators to propose a Truce for six months, during which they hoped that the differences of all the Princes who were engaged in the War, might be happily ended. But hitherto their opinions as to that were quite different, seeing they had refused all the Truces that had been proposed to them. In the mean time the Northern Confederates made great preparatives for putting in execution a new enterprise, which they designed upon the Isle of *Rugen*.

Matters were in such a state, that the decision of one difficulty seemed to be the necessary

necessary cause of another; and that so great an affair as Peace could not be brought forth without great stratagems. The seventh and eighth were spent in the *Heer Bevernings* frequent coming and going to demand of the *French* Ambassadors the clearing of several doubts which the *Spaniards* raised to all the Articles of the Treaty, saying that they had secret notices, which being but confused, rendered them scrupulous and distrustful upon the smallest appearances. In fine, they demanded an explication concerning the Chattelleny of *Aith*, which was the ground of a difficulty of little less consequence than that of *Bonvignes* and *Beaumont*.

Since that *Chattelleny* was yeilded to the *French* King by the Treaty of *Aix la Chapelle*, his Majesty dismembred several Villages from it, and adjected them to the government of *Tournay*, and in that state the King pretended to deliver back this *Chattelleny*; but whether the *Spaniards* thought fit of themselves to demand that explication, or that they were put upon it by others, they desired a particular clause concerning that to be put into the Treaty; and upon the refusal of the *French* Ambassadors, they framed a Memoir, which they gave to the *States-General*.

They

They said that the dismembring of the *Chattelleny* of *Aith* made by the *French* King, absorbed the chief part thereof; that no less lay at stake than seventy Villages, and the City of *Lenze*, which is but a league and a half distant from *Aith*. That since his most Christian Majesty had in the conditions made no reservation of the dependencies of that *Chattelleny*, as he had of *Verge* and *Memin*, depending on *Courtray*, the *French* Ambassadors by refusing the clause demanded, shewed but a captious fetch, that they might restore to *Spain* but a part of so considerable a *Chattelleny*.

The *French* were in great pain to know what could have given the *Spaniards* ground at that time to make that reflection upon the dismembring of the *Chattelleny* of *Aith*, and to think that the design of the *French* was to make their advantage of the omission that might have been made thereof in the Treaty. The truth is, the *Spaniards* would have had no ground of complaining if *Aith* and its *Chattelleny* should have been restored to them in the condition that it has been so long in.

They could not imagine what was the reason of this new emergent; but it was obvious, that the Prince de *Lignes*, who has a great Estate in the dismembered part of that

that *Chattelleny*, having sent a Secretary to *Nimueguen* upon the account that it concerned him to have his Lands return again to the *Spanish* Dominion, had without doubt given the *Spaniards* information of that affair, and of the necessity of inserting a clause concerning it in the Treaty.

The *Heer Beverning* acted not in that affair with the same zeal as he had formerly made appear. The distasts he had received the last time that he had been at the *Hague*, made him proceed much more slowly than his usual application did allow: for after all the pains he had taken to end a War which the *United Provinces* could no longer support, he little expected to have his conduct blamed. Nevertheless they endeavoured to let him see that there were several faults and considerable omissions in the Treaty which he had signed.

The five principal were these: First, that in the Preface the *French* King seemed to be the Protector of the *States-General*, though it contain no term but what is conform to his Majesties Letters, and the answers of the States. Secondly, That the Neutrality to which the *States-General* were engaged by that Treaty, was indefinite, and by consequent might be extended beyond the present War. Thirdly, That the *Heer Beverning*

ing had exceeded his commission, in having obliged the *States* to warrant the Neutrality of *Spain*. Fourthly, That he had omitted an Article of *Amnistie* and *Oblivion*, which ought mutually to be stipulated in all treaties of Peace. And Lastly, That he had forgot to mention the *Barriere*, which the *French King* granted to *Spain*, in consideration, and for the security of the *States General*.

Though most of those faults were more grounded on the discontent of those who regretted the conclusion of the Peace, than on any important or dangerous consequence; yet the *French King* was willing to satisfy the *States General* in any thing that might farther concern them. And seeing the indefinite term of their Neutrality, and the warranting of that into which *Spain* was to enter, were the points that appeared to be of greatest importance. the explication thereof which the *French Ambassadors* gave to the *Dutch*, according to the desire of the *States*, was approved and ratified by his Majesty at *Fontainbleau*, the 5th of *September*, in the same manner as if it had been inserted in the **Treaty**.

The *French Ambassadors* understood by the Letters which *Courier* brought them on the 9th, that the Court was persuaded that there

there would be greater difficulty in concluding the Treaty with *Spain*, than had been at first imagined ; and that was partly the cause why the *French King* gave Orders to the Count *d' Avaux* to go with all diligence to the *Hague*, where his Majesty judged his presence necessary. But seeing affairs appeared then to be in a better state at *Nimueguen* than was believed at Court, that Ambassador departed not. However another Courier having on the 10th brought a compromise from the King, whereby his Majesty referred to the *States-General* the decision of all the differences that retarded the conclusion of the Peace with *Spain*. The Count *d' Avaux* arrived on the 11th at the *Hague*, where it was not difficult for him to observe that there were many there fully inclined to introduce (if they could) some change in the State, whereinto the signing of the Peace had put the affairs of the *United Provinces*.

Nevertheless it was already known, that all the Provinces had consented to the ratification of the Peace, some absolutely, and others upon conditions which they submitted to the determination of the States ; in-
somuch that before the end of six weeks the Ratifications might be exchanged if no difficulties stopt the conclusion of the Peace with *Spain*.

In the mean time the *English* forces that in so great number came over into the *Low-countries*, bred great umbrages in *Holland*; the people could not tell what need there was of an Assistance that came not till the peace was concluded. And seeing they were not as yet totally cured of the doubts they had conceived of the sincerity of *France*, no more than of the jealousy that some entertained of the too great authority of the Prince of *Orange*; most part knew not but the peace which was made, might be an occasion to make them fall the more easily under a dominion, the encrease of which was possibly one of the reasons that made them embrace the peace.

In fine, a Courier on the 13th having brought Letters from the *French* King, whereby his Majesty removed all obstacles that hindered the conclusion of the peace with *Spain*; the Count *d'Avaux* returned on the 17th to *Nimueguen*, and in the Conference which he had that day at the *Dutch* Ambassador's house, that lasted till two of the clock afternoon, all the Articles were agreed upon, and that the peace should be signed that evening. The *Spanish* Ambassadors caused the Treaty to be translated into *Spanish*, and the Translation was examined by Mr. *Colbert*, who found two or three words

words to be amended, which did not exactly quadrate with the sense of the *French*.

Seeing the *Dutch* Ambassadors had been the Mediators of the Peace betwixt *France* and *Spain*, their house was thought the most convenient place to sign the Peace at. They caused their Hall of Audience to be prepared for that Ceremony. They entered it by a great door about the middle; the Chair of State stood at one end, on the left hand of the door, and the Chimney just opposite on the right. The *French* Ambassadors room had an Entry into the Hall on the side of the Chimney; and that which was appointed for the Ambassadors of *Spain*, had its Entry on that of the Chair of State. There was a long Table set cross the Hall, one end of it towards the door, and the other towards the windows; but seeing the *French* would not have the Chair of State to be on the *Spanish* side, it behoved to be removed; and the Chimney which was on the right hand as one entred, making too great a distinction on that side, the *Dutch* Ambassadors caused it to be covered with a piece of Tapitry, that none in their house might have any cause of discontent.

The *French* Ambassadors came to the *Dutch* Ambassadors House about nine of the clock at night with several Coaches filled

with Gentlemen. They were no sooner in their Chamber, but the *Heer Beverning* gave them notice that all things were ready; and having the Treaties in his hand, he went and sat down at the upper end of the Table, and the *Heer Haaren* his Colleague at the other end. At the same time were opened the doors of the two Chambers, and the Ambassadors advanced in equal pace from their several Apartments, walking all three a breast. As matters were disposed, the Ambassadors of *Spain* had two disadvantages; first, that they were on the left hand as they entered the Hall: and next, that advancing to the Table in the rank which they were to keep, the Marquess *de los-Balbases* was forced to give his Colleagues the right hand, because otherways he could not sit opposite to the Marshal *d' Estrades*, nor at the upper end of the Table.

All the Ambassadors sat down at the same time, the Gentlemen on either side standing at the backs of their Chairs. The Marshal *d' Estrades*, and the Marquess *de los Balbases*, took each of them a Pen, and at the same time signed the Treaty which the *Heer Beverning* presented to them. Then the other Ambassadors took the Treaty and the Pen, and signed it in the same colume,
every

every one on the right hand of his Treaty, and exchanged them after the first signing. The *French* signed that of *Spain*, and the *Spaniards* that of *France* in one colume, to the left of the former, leaving room for the seals, which the Secretaries took care to place at the end of every subscription. This being done, all the Ambassadors arose, and complimented one another standing, during the space of half a quarter of an hour; after which they returned to their Chambers as before, from whence they severally retired to their Lodgings.

Next day after the signing of the Treaty of Peace, the Count *d'Avaux* with his whole Train parted for *Nimueguen* by water in quality of Ambassador Extraordinary to the *States-General*, who told him upon his arrival, that the Ratification of the Treaty was sent to *Nimueguen*, where they were exchanged on the 20th with all the testimonies of mutual satisfaction among the Ambassadors, who gave marks of their good intelligence by feasting and mutual rejoycings.

The Northern Confederates were at that time more than ever inclined to consent to a truce; but the *Suedes* would not absolutely agree to it: they would have willingly accepted of it in *Pomerania*, because

they had ground to fear that the great losses they had there sustained, might be followed by others more considerable; but they were not for it in *Schonen*, where their affairs were in a better condition, by the taking of *Christianstadt*, which they had at length made themselves Masters of. However the losses they felt in *Pomerania*, were of greater importance to them than all they could gain elsewhere. The Confederates at *Nimueguen* were at that time much surpris'd at the news of the death of the Bishop of *Munster*; they had reason to fear that it might bring some alteration to the projects that they were forming. However the great preparations that the King of *Denmark* and Elector of *Brandenbourg* were making against the Isle of *Rugen*, were not at all retarded. The Elector embarked his forces in several ships, and was himself present at their landing; which was so happily conducted, that in less than a day he render'd himself Master of the whole Isle, and without losing of time he went and besieged *Stralsund*, which he took two days after he had begun to batter it.

Octob. 1678. The peace with the United Provinces was proclaimed at the *Hague* on the 28th of September; and on the fifth of
Octo.

October publick rejoycings were solemnized throughout all the Towns of the United Provinces, except *Nimueguen*, because that Town being Neutral, and appointed for the Treaty of the General Peace, it did not seem expedient that they who by a separate Treaty were freed from the calamities of War, should therefore rejoyce in presence of those who still lay under the burden thereof. And it was upon that account that the Ambassadors of the Emperor and of the other Confederates, desired the Ambassadors of the *States-General* that they would not suffer any publick rejoycing to be made in that place before the conclusion of the General Peace.

The *French King*, who seemed to be no less desirous of the peace of the Empire, than of that of *Spain*, put himself in a posture of making the Princes who were engaged in that War, to consent to it; and for that end he caused a considerable body of his forces to march into the Countrey of *Juliers* under the command of Monsieur *Calvo*, who possessed himself of *Aix la Chapelle*, whither part of the Ammunition of *Maestricht*, which then was evacuating, in order to its being rendered up to the *States-General*, was transported, the rest being carried by water to *Huy*, which was put in a

condition necessary for the security of the Magazines.

What inclination, in the mean time, the *French King* made appear to the peace of *Germany*, the Ministers of the Emperor still laboured to persuade the Diet at *Ratisbon* that his Majesty desired no peace, seeing he proposed an Alternative of which both parts were equally impracticable. They said that the Emperor could not render *Philipsbourg*, because by the Leagues which he had made with most of the Princes of the Empire, he had obliged himself to demolish it, as a place prejudicial to their liberty; and that if he delivered up *Fribourg*, he would thereby leave all *Brisgow* and the Forest-Towns under the jurisdiction of *France*, and give the *French* a footing in the Empire with more advantage than they had before by the possession of *Philipsbourg*.

For overthrowing these reasons, which were thought pretexts to stave off the Peace, and to render the intentions of the *French King* suspected; the *French Ambassadors* declared in his Majesty's name, That he consented to the demolishing of *Philipsbourg*; and that to remove from the Emperor and Empire all causes of jealousy and fear concerning *Brisgow* and the Forest-Towns,

Towns, he was satisfied with the City of *Fribourg* and three Villages under its jurisdiction. This proposition blasted all the reasons of impossibility which were alledged against the practability of the Alternative on which the peace of *Germany* depended.

In the mean time all diligence was used to put *Maestricht* in a condition of being render'd up to the *States-General* according to the intent of the Treaty of peace. And in effect, the Count *d' Avaux* having given his word to the *States-General* that it should be evacuated by the sixth of *October*; the same day they took possession of it, with the greater satisfaction to the *Dutch*, that there were some still amongst them who continued to possess them with distrust, and to persuade the people that *France* intended only to cheat them, and that the King would not surrender *Maestricht*.

The *French* Forces that possessed almost all the passes on the *Rhine*, were very uneasy to all the Neighbouring Princes who were engaged in the War. The Duke of *Newbourg*, who had most reason to fear, was the first that desired of the *States-General* that he might be comprehended in their Treaty, and enjoy the benefit of the Peace according to the 19th Article, which
gave

gave them power to name their Allies within the space of six weeks, that they might be included in the Treaty. That Prince had the greater reason to hope that by this means he might put himself out of danger, in that he was really an Ally of the *States*, and that he had declared that he would accept the Peace before the expiration of the six weeks.

The Elector of *Mayence* and *Treves* made the same Declaration, and the same demand to the *States-General*, by a Memoir which the Baron of *Lejen* presented in their names at the *Hague*. But what instances soever the *States* made in favour of those Princes, and what assurances soever they gave that the Emperor himself would ere long accept the Peace, they could not obtain any thing in a matter which they thought just, and conform to the Article of their Treaty, before they heard the reasons which the *French* alledged against that pretension.

On the 30th the Marquess *de los Balbases* returned from *Brussels*, whither he went after the signing of the Peace with *Spain*. It was thought that he brought the Ratification of the Treaty, because the six weeks wherein the exchange was to be made, were expired the day before. Nevertheless he brought

brought it not : but the *French King* having sent an *Express* to the *Count d' Avaux*, that *Ambassador* declared to the *States* on the fifth of *November* 1678. that notwithstanding the negligence of *Spain*, his Majesty was willing in consideration of them, to prolong the time of the exchange of the *Ratifications* until the 20th of that month. And by the next *Courier* that came, news was brought that in compliance with the instances of the *Ambassadors* of the *States-General*, his Majesty had granted the whole Month.

At that time the *Plenipotentiary* of *Lorraine* declared, That his Master accepted the Peace upon the terms proposed by the *French King* the 9th of *April* ; and at the same time chose the second part of the *Alternative*, by which *Nancy* was to remain to his Majesty, who in exchange thereof gave him the *City of Toul* upon the conditions specified in the *Article* of the *Kings* project which concerns that Prince. The *Nuncio* who promised himself that all these particular acceptations of Peace would terminate in the conclusion of the *General Peace*, employed all his care and pains with much zeal to incline the *Emperors Ambassadors*, and the *Ministers* of other *Catholic Princes*, not to defer any longer the accomplishment

complishment of so great a blessing.

The *French* King in the mean time well perceived that these Princes of the Empire consented only to a separate Peace, in prospect of putting themselves out of danger of his Arms, and not with design to conclude it upon conditions that respected the Empire in general, seeing they desired no more but to be comprehended in the *Dutch* Treaty, and consented not to the reinforcement of the Treaties of *Westphalia*, which granted free passage to his Majesties forces through the Empire, so often as it was necessary they should march that way for the execution of the same Treaties. And therefore the King yeilded not to the desire of those Princes, though the *States-General*, who made it a point of honour to procure them the benefit of their peace in the midst of War, pretended they had right to have them included in their Treaty.

The Count *de Bourcain d'Épense*, whom the King permitted the Spring before to take a journey to *Berlin*, to see the Elector of *Brandenbourg* his old Master, about that time came back to *Nimueguen*: though he was wholly addicted to the Interests of his Electoral Highness before the War, yet his Majesty did not for all that repose less confidence in him; for upon his return from
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Berlin, finding the King in *Flanders* after the taking of *Ghent*, his Majesty ordered him still to wait upon him, designing to make use of all opportunities that might offer to renew a good correspondence with the Elector. And therefore he came to *Nimuegüen* with particular instructions from the Court to contribute what he could to that peace; and the *French* Ambassadors acted nothing without his consent, in the transactions that passed at *Nimuegüen* concerning that Negotiation.

The Imperial Ambassadors could not as yet resolve to give their consent to the entire confirmation of the Treaties of *Westphalia*; it was the thing that created them most trouble, and which was most prejudicial to the Authority that the Emperor had acquired during this War. They declared, as the rest did, that his Imperial Majesty accepted the peace; but they consented not to the passage of the *French* forces through the Empire, and they despaired not but that they might even derogate from these Treaties, by those which they were to make with *France* and *Sueden*. And as to the alternative of *Fribourg* and *Philipsbourg*, they declared that the Emperor would yeild it to the King in the manner as the *French* Ambassadors proposed.

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Seeing the *States-General* still pretended that those Princes ought to be included, who being their Allies, declared within six weeks after the exchange of the Ratifications, that they accepted the Peace. The *French King* made appear by the Memoir, that the Count *D' Avaux* gave them on the 18th of November, 1578. that in that juncture the private Princes of the Empire could not be considered separately from the Emperor and Empire; and that they could not neither accept a separate peace upon the conditions proposed by the King, seeing his Majesty had made no conditions for them in particular, but only for the Emperor and Empire in general; and that they ought all to be comprehended in one and the same Treaty.

That reason had not been so good in respect of the Emperor, who was expressly mentioned in the *French Kings* project; and the *States-General* would have willingly been astricted to the inclusion of him alone; but it was represented to them, that his Imperial Majesty could less pretend to the benefit of the *Dutch Peace*, than any other Prince, since the term of six weeks after the exchange of the Ratifications was expired without any formal acceptation of the conditions of the Peace by the Ambassadors, in
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the manner that they were proposed, for the Emperor had not as yet consented to the passage which the *Treaties of Westphalia* give the King through the Empire; so that the not consenting to the corroboration of the same *Treaties*, the fulfilling whereof was to give repose to *Germany*, made the Emperor's acceptance of the peace.

The *States-General* desisted from that pretension; and seeing that the *Spaniards* did not ratifie the peace, and that it was uncertain what might be the effect of this long delay, they began to fear that if the time granted by the *French King* should expire, and *Spain* not ratifie the *Treaty*, the War might begin afresh in the Neighbouring Provinces to them, and that they might be thereby deprived of the most considerable advantage which they expected from their peace. Upon this consideration the States besought his Majesty further to prolong the time of the exchange of the *Ratifications*; but the King on the 30th not only acquainted them, that in consideration of them he was willing still to grant fifteen days as the longest delay; but his Majesty also assured them, that he was ready to remove all the apprehensions they might have for the *Spanish Towns* on their frontiers; and that he would even deliver up into their

their hands those places which he was willing to render to *Spain*, to be kept by them until the consummation of the peace with that Crown.

At the same time the *French* King required of the *States-General*, that in pursuance of the Treaty of peace, they would cause to be paid to him the Arrears of Contributions of the Countrey of *Kuyck*, the Mayordom of *Bois-le-duc*, the Barony of *Breda*, and of the Marquisate of *Bergen-op-zoom*; and that they would draw their forces out of the Countrey of *Leige*: that otherwise his Majesty would have cause to take the longer abode of their forces in that Countrey, as a violation of the Treaty, and a tacit assistance given to the Prince of *Liege* his Enemy.

The Negotiation of the peace of the Empire, proceeded still very slowly, and the *Spaniards* made no haste to exchange their Ratifications; and therefore his Majesty caused to be declared to the Ambassadors of the Emperor, That if in the Month of *December* they did not conclude the peace, his Majesty would not afterward consent to it upon the same conditions. And to oblige *Spain* to hasten the Ratification, the King ordered that *Ghent* and the Countrey of *Waas* shoule pay contributions proportionable

able to the great number of Forces that he was obliged to maintain in the *Low-coun-treys* until the ratification of the peace. So that all the Countrey which was to be render'd to *Spain*, suffer'd more in that short time, than it had done during the whole course of the War; and all that, that it might not be said that the *Spaniards* had abandoned the Emperor by ratifying their peace before that his Imperial Majesty had concluded his own.

So great was the terror at that time throughout the whole Dutchy of *Cleves*, that upon the noise of the approach of the *French* Forces, most part of the Inhabitants left the Countrey, not doubting but that notwithstanding the contributions that they should pay, the *French* King would possess himself of the Dutchy of *Cleves*, to oblige the Elector of *Brandenbourg* to give satisfaction to *Sueden*, the affairs whereof could not be worse than they were in *Pomerania*, seeing that *Gripswald*, which was the only place that the *Suedes* retained in that Province, had surrender'd to the Elector of *Brandenbourg*, and that by that means the *Suedes* were wholly beat out of *Germany*.

The King of *Denmark* nevertheless was sensible, that notwithstanding the advanta-

ges that he and his Allies might have over *Sueden*, *France* had so declared for the intimate satisfaction of that King, and so publicly espoused his Interests, that it was in vain to imagine they could obtain other advantages from that War, than what the *French* King thought fit to allow them. In prospect of this, his *Danish* Majesty caused his Envoy at the *Hague* to negotiate secretly with the Count *D'Avaux*: That Prince protested that he resigned all his Interests into the *French* Kings hands; that he desired no other Mediation than that of his Majesty; and that he would conform to any thing that it should please him to appoint. But no positive answer was made to all these general propositions; there was a necessity of coming to the precise point, if any thing was to be expected to be done.

The *Spanish* Ambassadors received the Ratification of the Peace in the beginning of *December* 1678. but seeing the *French* King had granted them until the 15th for making the exchange, they endeavoured to draw some advantage from the short time that still remained; saying that they could not deliver the Ratification until they had the interpretation which they demanded of some Articles of the Treaty, and especially
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concerning the *Messineses*, whom they would have excluded from the Treaty, which extended an Oblivion to all the Rebel-subjects of his Catholick Majesty.

The reason that was given why the *Spaniards* did not what they could to hinder the *Messineses* from enjoying the pardon that the *French King* procured them by the Treaty, was that several *Grandeers* of *Spain* had obtained the confiscation of the chief Rebels of *Messina*; and that the interest they had to bring things so about, that by virtue of the Treaty they should not have power to dispose of their Estates, was one of the chief reasons that had so long deferred the Ratification, and by consequent had ruined so many private Families in *Flanders*.

The *Spaniards* likewise demanded, That in case the Commissioners that should be appointed by the two Kings to make exchange of the Villages which they should find prejudicial to the settling of the limits, could not agree amongst themselves as to the value of the exchanges, the difference should be referred to the determination of the King of *England*. But the *French Ambassadors* condescended to none of those unseasonable demands, being resolved rather to break off, than to innovate the least thing

thing in the Articles that were agreed upon.

The *States-General* made even a Declaration to the Count *D'Avaux* on the 13. that they not only desisted from the inclusion which they pretended to give to the Emperor, and Princes of the Empire; but that they would likewise abandon the *Spaniards*, if they ratifi'd not the Treaty within fifteen days, being unwilling to importune the *French King* for a longer delay; and that they hoped in a short time to incline the Emperor to accept the peace.

In effect, the Imperialists on the 12. gave their counter-project, wherein nevertheless they changed their mind as to the option that they had already made of *Philipsbourg*, and added several Articles which were not conform to what was agreed unto with the Mediators. They demanded that the *French King* should indemnifie all those of the Empire who had suffered any damage during the War. That the Princes of *Furstembourg* should by their submissions crave pardon of, and make publick satisfaction to the Emperor for having espoused contrary Interests. And that the King should not have the Sovereignty over all the Ways that he demanded in *Lorraine*.

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These propositions quite contrary to the project which the *French* Ambassadors gave to the Mediators, who approved all the Articles therein contained, made the sincerity of the desire and conduct of the Imperialists to be doubted of, or at least they made their ordinary irresolution appear; particularly touching the choice of the Alternative; about which having once declared themselves, they ought not to be admitted to change again. But the truth was, they never imagined that the *French* King liked *Fribourg* as well as *Philipsbourg*, but that yielding to him the latter, they would put his Majesty to a plunge, insomuch that the desire that he would have to make them change their choice, might produce some advantage for them. But they were no less mistaken in that point, than in their hopes of getting new Articles inserted into the Treaty; for the *French* Ambassadors would not admit of any, nor derogate in the least from the Treaties of *Westphalia*, except in the Alternative of *Fribourg* for *Philipsbourg*.

The *Spaniards* had now spun out the time until the end of the last delay which the *French* King had granted to them, but found no way longer to defer the exchange of the Ratifications, nor any hopes that the

French Ambassadors would grant them the least thing of what they remanded since the signing of the Treaty. So that on the 15. they delivered their Ratification. The exchange was made without any ceremony at the House of the Ambassadors of the *States General*, whither the Secretaries went to fetch them. But the *French* Ambassadors finding that the Ratification of *Spain* was not altogether in the form that it ought to have been in, they declared that they accepted it no otherways than in so far as it should please the King their Master.

The Imperialists finding the *French* Ambassadors as inflexible in respect of them, as they had been in regard of the *Spaniards*, despaired of obtaining liberty to change the choice which they had already made of the Alternative; so that on the 24. they declared that they stood to the Election that they had made of *Philipsbourg*; and that they might not spend the whole Month, after which the *French* Ambassadors had declared to them that the King would not adhere longer to the conditions of the 9th of *April*, they entred into publick conference, that they might in good earnest endeavour the conclusion of the peace. These Conferences were held in the Town-house, where the Ambassadors of the Emperor, France, and

and *Sueden*, with the Mediator *Jenkins*, had all separate rooms.

Tho' the Nuncio employed himself very usefully for promoting the peace, yet he appeared not as publick Mediator, because *Rome* and *England* could not join in one Mediation; and that *England* was admitted by all the other Princes who were concerned in that Negotiation. The Ambassadors of *Denmark* and *Brandenbourg* endeavour'd presently to stop the course of those conferences; and represented vigorously to the Imperialists, that every step they made, were so many breaches in the Treaties of Alliance which his Imperial Majesty had made with the Princes their Masters.

The Ambassadors of the *States-General* perceiving that in the few days which remained of the Month, it was not possible to conclude a Treaty wherein so many difficulties appeared in the very beginning, prayed the *French* Ambassadors to prolong the delay which that King had granted. Their answer was, that they had no power to do it; but that nevertheless they believed that if the Treaty were in readiness to be signed, his Majesty might give a new delay.

In the first Session of Conferences, the four first Articles of the Project of the Imperialists,

perialists were reduced to one ; the *French* refusing to fill the Treaties with needless Articles, and such especially as only concerned those matters which *France* pretended to be sufficiently adjusted by the Treaties of *Westphalia*, whereof they demanded the corroboration and accomplishment. And seeing by the treaty the Emperor and all the Princes of the Empire were not only to remain neutral, but were also to take from the Enemies of *France* and *Sueden* all means whereby they might make any advantage or profit by the Countreys of the Empire, whilst the King might make use of them for restoring *Sueden* ; his Majesty by his Ambassadors demanded such places as he should stand in need of after the peace of the Empire, for a free passage from his frontiers to the *Rhine*.

On the fifth of *January* 1673. the *French* Ambassadors declared that the places which their King intended to reserve, were *Cassel*, *Huys*, *Verviers*, *Aix-la-Chapelle*, *Duren*, *Linninch*, *Nuys*, and *Ordingen*, that was the straightest and shortest march that the *French* Forces could have to the *Rhine* ; and his Majesty was already posselt of all those places, which being open, and without fortification, shewed that the design of the King was only to make use of them, that he

he might oblige to the observation of the Treaties of *Westphalia*, those Princes who contrary to the faith of the same Treaties desired to continue the War after the peace of the Empire, that they might retain the possession of the Countreys which they had taken from *Sueden*, whilst his Majesty to procure satisfaction to that King his Ally, had surrendred a great many good places, and made peace in a time when he might have expected great advantages from the success and prosperity of his Arms.

At that time news was brought that the *Suedish* Army was come out of *Livonia*. For the space of two years there was a talk of its marching, though it advanced not one step. But at length it entred into *Prussia*, and having possessed some places on the River of *Wemel*, it was advanced to the middle of that Province. There was the greater probability, that the *Suedish* Enterprise would contribute to their peace with the Elector of *Brandenbourg*, that in the mean time whilst that Prince was marching all the Forces he had in *Pomerania* and *Germany* to oppose that irruption, he ordered *M. Meinders*, his Minister and Councillor of State, to go in diligence to the *French* Court, the King having granted him a Passport for that effect. *M. Meinders* was at that time

time at *Nimueguen*, being come back from the Elector his Master, to whom he went upon occasion of the propositions which the Count *D'Espenses* had brought; but seeing the chief thing contained in these propositions, was the entire restitution of all the Conquests which the Elector had obtained from *Sueden*, the obstacles that hinder'd the conclusion of the Treaty, were so hard to be digested, that his Electoral Highness judged it far more convenient to negotiate the peace with his Majesty, than to treat at *Nimueguen*. This Prince was the rather inclined to take this resolution, because those who continued still in War, were severally thinking of making their Treaties apart.

In the mean while the Conferences betwixt the Imperial and *French* Ambassadors continued in the Town-house, and it began to be hoped that the Negotiation would come to a happy conclusion. The Plenipotentiary of the Duke of *Lorrain* at that time endeavoured to obtain what the Imperial Ambassadors had in vain essayed; he supposed that his Master dreamt not that the ways which the *French* King demanded from *Nancy* to *Mets*, into *Alsatia*, the *French* County and *France* should belong to the King in sovereignty; and upon that
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that pretext he pretended to change the choice he had made of the Alternative, and to accept *Nancy* for *Toul*; but the reason he alledged having no appearance of the least foundation, he could not obtain the liberty of a new choice, no more than the Imperialists could, after they had once accepted *Philipsbourg*: so that the Duke of *Lorraine* might easily have perceived, in the course of that Negotiation, that he was mistaken in expecting greater advantages, if he were admitted into the possession of *Lorraine* under the protection of the Emperor, than if he received it from the bounty and generosity of the *French King*.

Seeing new difficulties were daily started in the Negotiation of the Peace of the Empire, the King was willing to prolong the delay he had given until the end of the Month; but that retarded rather the Negotiation, than it promoted the Treaty: for besides that the *Imperialists*, who always seemed irresolute in bringing things to a conclusion, desired no better, than not to push on business when they had time before them; they were so sensibly touched at those burthensom conditions wherewith the King clog'd that prolongation, that if they could have found any other remedy for the calamities of the Empire, besides a speedy
Peace

Peace, they would not have dissembled their resentment. The King consented not to that delay, but on condition, that if the Peace were not signed before the Month was expired, *Philipsbourg* should be demolished, for the reimbursment of the charges that his Majesty was obliged to be at, for maintaining his Forces: and that if *February* likewise passed without concluding the Peace, his Majesty would moreover have all *Brisgow* in recompence of his charges.

The truth is, the *French* King could be no less than absolute Master of Peace and War, to impose such a necessity upon the *Imperialists*: Nevertheless, whether it were the fears of seeing themselves exposed to undergo these conditions, or a sincere desire of freeing the Empire as soon as possibly could be from so troublesome a War, set the Imperial Ambassadors to work; the Negotiations of Peace grew brisker than before; they met morning and evening, and had very long conferences; so that Sir *Lionell Jenkins* had trouble enough in going back and fore betwixt them, labouring to renew the impediments which retarded the Negotiation; and yet for all that, the Peace advanced but slowly.

The Imperialists started great difficulties about the 26. and 27. Articles of the Treaty; and seeing they all tended to annul the rights which *France* had obtained in the Empire by the peace of *Westphalia*, and especially those which have been yielded to that King over the ten Towns of *Alsatia*; the debates that arose upon that subject, were many and hard to be adjusted.

The Ambassadors of the Emperor perceiving that they gained no ground by these debates, and that the *French* Ambassadors would not consent that those things which were concluded by the peace of *Munster*, should any ways be infringed by this Treaty. They endeavoured at least to obtain, that the points to which the *French* would not condescend, might be referred to arbitration. But this was to as little purpose as the extraordinary repugnancy they shewed against the Emperor being obliged to observe a neutrality in the Empire, whilst the *French* King might march his forces for the relief of his Allies. Nevertheless all these points were at length agreed unto in the manner as the *French* Ambassadors demanded.

The jollities of the Carnival were at that time very great in *Nimueguen*, where the people, who since the change of Religion

gion and Government, has not been accustomed to see Masquarades, took great pleasure in these Novelties, and especially in a frolick of *Spaniards*, magnificently disguised, who went through all the Town drawn on sledges upon the snow at a Ball in the House of the Ambassador of *Denmark* on the 24. Two men appeared disguised into *Capucins*, of whom one having danced with the Neece of the *Danish* Ambassador, presented the hand to *Mademoiselle Colbert*; but *Monsieur Colbert* being present, stopped the Masquer, telling him that it was not the custom of *France* to dance in such habits; and that if he had him at his house, he would serve him as he deserved.

The forwardness of the peace of the Empire, gave the Northern Confederates enough to think of; for, for all they were so well united among themselves, yet when the matter was of opposing those who seemed inclined to make a separate peace, they were not wanting to mind their own particular concerns. The journey of *M. Meinders*, Envoy from the Elector of *Brandenbourg* into *France*, gave them great umbrage, and made them fear that a separate peace with that Prince would quite ruine their affairs; and therefore they resolved severally to prevent the disadvantage that might hap^e

happen to them by continuing last in the War; but their peace depended on the *Suedes*, who being so highly supported by the *French*, seemed no less haughty as to the propositions that were made to them, than if they themselves had been in condition of giving the Law to their enemies.

The morning and evening conferences of the 29. and 30. were very long, and the Ambassadors met and discoursed together; so that there was no question made of the happy success of the Negotiation. Ambassador *Temple*, who upon the advice he received that the Treaty was upon the point of being concluded, parted from the *Hague* on the 29. arrived on the 30. at *Nimueguen*, that he might sign that peace, though many things still remained to be adjusted. The Ambassadors were at the Town-house from eight of the clock in the morning, until two afternoon. And as it was not doubted but that that last day would put an end to that great work, the end of the evening-conference, which began at four of the clock, was impatiently expected; but it lasted till five of the clock next morning, and yet the peace in no condition to be signed.

The affairs of the Duke of *Lorrain* took up much time; and in that conference M. *Stratman* made a long and elegant discourse
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in *Latin* concerning the pretensions and interests of that Prince; though *M. Colbert* expected no such thing, and that he had no time to prepare himself for an answer, yet he answered *ex tempore* with so much force and perspicuity, that the whole Assembly were surpris'd at it.

It seem'd that the Imperialists perceiving that the delay granted by the King, expired with the preceding day, purposely suffered affairs to be spun out beyond that term, to the end that it might not be said that they had suffered it to expire without a conclusion, and that they had incurred the penalties upon which the *French* King granted a second prorogation. No other business remained to be determined but the affairs of the House of *Furstemberg*, and the possession of the Dutchy of *Bouillon*, with the granting the demand of the *French* Ambassadors, who would have the result of the Diet of *Ratisbon* mentioned in the Treaty, by which it might appear that the Ambassadors of the Emperor were sufficiently authoris'd to stipulate in the name of the Empire.

January 1672: The greatest difficulties being at length discuss'd, the *French* Ambassadors declared that they had power to prolong for two days the last delay that their
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King had granted. But the Ambassadors of Denmark and Brandenburg finding that no obstacle could hinder the conclusion of the peace of the Empire (though the Ministers of their Masters at the Emperor's Court assured them of the contrary in all their Letters ; and though the Imperial Ambassadors themselves protested to them at *Nimueguen*, that they would not act in reference to them, but as faithful Allies) : the first of *February* about eleven of the clock at night, they made a long and smart Remonstrance to the Imperial Embassy, that they might endeavour as much as in them lay, to divert the blow which they then saw nearer than they had ever before.

They told the Imperial Ambassadors, that their proceedings with the common Enemy so much the more allarm'd them, as that in the place where they were shut up, they could not come to speech with them, that they might represent to them how sensibly it affected them to see that they made mysteries of that which the Enemy scrupled not to make publick ; that they intreated them to consider the faith of their leagues, the Decrees of the Empire, and the wrong they would do the Princes their Masters, if they restored *Sueden* to the benefit of the

Treaties of *Westphalia*, contrary to the solemn conclusions that declare they have forfeited the same ; that above all, they pray'd them to give away nothing of what belonged to them ; and not to suffer that under the name of peace the war might be carried into those parts of the Empire into which the Enemies Forces were never as yet able to advance.

These Ambassadors added to their Remonstrance a kind of threatening ; saying, that if the Imperialists abandoned them to the discretion of their Enemies, they ought not to take it ill if they made use of their own misfortunes for obtaining some reparation from those who would sacrifice them in that manner. In fine, they adjured them by the Majesty of the Sacred Empire, that they would conclude nothing contrary to the Rights of their Masters, seeing they were ready to make peace jointly with them upon equitable conditions, or otherways to take all necessary measures for a vigorous resistance.

The Confederate Ambassadors nicked the time in making that Remonstrance ; for the Conference from which the Imperial and *French* Ambassadors were just come, ended in a total rupture, and with so much animosity on both sides, that those who formerly

merly desired the peace, had cause to fear that the Treaty could hardly be set on foot again. But notwithstanding of that, Ambassador *Jenkins*, who shewed no less prudence than zeal in his conduct, so ordered affairs, that next day (being the second of the Month) the Conferences were renewed.

Seeing the difference that remained concerning the Dutchy of *Bouillon*, was that which at that time created the greatest obstacle to the conclusion of the peace, inso-much that it was thought it would have broken off the Treaty; the *Nuncio* fearing lest that single difficulty might obstruct the fruits of so long and difficult a Negotiation, so ordered matters, that the *Sieurs Charun* and *Vanderveck*, Envoys from the Prince and Chapter of *Liege*, declared, That since nothing but the pretension which their Master had to the Dutchy of *Bouillon*, hindred the peace, they consented that upon the account of that particular Interest, the welfare and repose of the whole Empire should be no longer retarded. By that means all things were adjusted, and in the same Conference (which lasted till midnight) the Ambassadors agreed to sign the Treaty.

Tho' the peace concluded betwixt the Emperor and *France*, sufficiently provided for the security and satisfaction of *Sueden*, seeing it restored that Crown to all that the Treaties of *Westphalia* gave it in the Empire ; yet there was a necessity of a separate Treaty for *Sueden*, because that King had been declared an Enemy to the Empire, and fallen from the advantages which he had by the peace of *Munster*. That Treaty was therefore set on foot with great diligence, and had all the success that the particular care of the *French* King could procure for the concerns of his Confederate. The Treaty of *Westphalia* was made the rule and pattern of this ; all Acts, Decrees, and Mandates made to the contrary, were rescinded and declared null by it, as innovations introduced during the troubles of the War: the neutrality of the Emperor, and restoration of the Duke of *Holstein Gottorp*, were therein stipulated, and all protestations that could be made to the contrary, declared null and of none effect.

The Ambassadors of *Denmark* and *Brandenbourg* seeing the peace fully concluded on the third of the Month, made their protestations against it ; they complained that the Emperors Ambassadors had consented to matters which so nearly concerned the
Princes

Princes their Masters, that they had not only neglected all their interests, but also that they had given their Enemies liberty to pursue the War even into the heart of their own countrey: That they had treated about the rights of all the States of the Empire, so far as to abolish some Decrees concerning them, without the knowledg of the Princes who were most interested therein. In a word, they solemnly protested against that separate peace, which ought to be reckoned null, and no way prejudicial to their Leagues, nor to the Decrees of the Empire.

These Ambassadors omitted no formalities which they judged necessary for maintaining the pretensions of their Masters. And therefore on the 4th they made a conditional protestation against the peace made by the Emperor with *Sueden*, because they saw it ready to be concluded and signed the same day with that of the Emperor with *France*. They said that they could the less be persuaded that the Imperial Ambassadors would do such a wrong to the Princes their Masters; that *Sueden* had been treated during the War, as a State and member of the Empire, guilty of breaking the publick peace, and in that notion cited and condemned by the Empire in the usual forms. So that in

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what manner soever the Emperor might reconcile himself to that Crown, they had reason to protest against the validity of that peace, and at the same time for all the damages that their Masters might suffer thereby.

The Ministers and Plenipotentiaries of the Princes of *Brunswick-Lunenbourg*, who hitherto had exerted no publick act of their function, the same day protested against those two Treaties in the same terms, and upon the same pretexts that the Ambassadors of *Denmark* and *Brandenbourg* had done. Perhaps they were ignorant that the Princes their Masters were concluding their particular Peace at home with *France* and *Sueden*, whilst they complained so loudly at *Nimueguen* against that of the Emperor. Nevertheless these proceedings hinder'd not but that the peace was next day signed, though the Imperial Ambassadors endeavoured under various pretexts to have the signing of it delayed.

The 5th at noon these Ambassadors sent the *Nuncio's* Auditor to entreat the *French* that they would defer the matter until the day following, in respect there was so much Writing required before the Treaty could be drawn up fair, that it was impossible it could be ready to be signed that evening.

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But all the answer they had was, That there was time more than enough for putting things in a condition ; and that if the peace was not signed by ten of the clock, they had orders from the King their Master not to sign it next day.

It seemed to be the fate of the Mediators not to sign any Treaty of peace ; they refused to sign that of the *Dutch*, because it was separate, and had been managed without their privity ; and they medled not in that of *Spain*, which was a consequent on the former : But seeing they had been the Mediators of the Treaty of the Empire, they thought nothing should have hinder'd them from signing that peace. Nevertheless the Ambassadors of his Imperial Majesty having failed in yeilding the honour to the *English* as Mediators, according to the practice of *Cologne* and *Nimueguen*, which occasioned, though no obstacle nor difficulty in the course of the Negotiation ; they were likewise ambiguous in their answers, when the Mediators sent to enquire of them how they pretended to carry themselves in the signing of the Treaty.

But when they were upon the point of going to sign the Treaty, the Imperial Ambassadors positively declared, That they

would not consent that the *English* should sign first. So that seeing they could not sign it either as Mediators, in which case they ought to have the first place, as due to them in that quality; or as *English*, for then the *French* would not write after them; it was impossible to find out any expedient to adjust that difficulty. And therefore Ambassador *Temple* said true, when he protested a long time before, That he would not sign the Peace whilst the affairs of *France* were in such a condition as to have it concluded to the advantage of that Crown. And all the fruit of his hasty journey to *Nimueguen* to sign a Peace so advantageous to *France*, was his displeasure for undertaking it in the coldest season that for these twenty years has been known in *Holland*.

Upon the *French* Ambassadors refusal to delay the signing of the Peace until next day, the Imperialists lost no time, and all things were ready that evening. About ten of the clock all the Ambassadors went to the Town-house with several Coaches, and many Flambeaus: So soon as the *French* Ambassadors were in their Chamber, they sent to compliment the *Imperialists*, and to tell them, That when they pleased they would come into the Hall which was prepared for the signing of the Peace. The Imperialists returned

returned them the same compliment ; and so the *French* entred first into the Hall, which was above stairs , and opposite to their room ; and they placed themselves at the Table on the left hand of the entry.

Immediately after the Imperial Ambassadors came up, and took place over against the *French*. The dores were open, and a great many Gentlemen of both Nations, and several others whom curiosity to see so solemn a ceremony, had invited to *Nimueguen*, stood behind the Ambassadors. M. *Stratman* brought the Treaty of the Empire, and M. *Colbert* that of *France*. The Count *d' Avaux* had affairs at the *Hague* that hinder'd him from being at that Ceremony. The two Treaties were written in *Latine*, and for comparing of them M. *Stratman* began to read ; but having read some pages of it, M. *Colbert* offered to ease him ; and the whole Treaty being so read over by turns, the Imperialists according to their several qualities signed it in one colume on the right hand ; then they took that of *France*, which they signed in the same manner ; whilst the *French* signed that of the Imperialists in one colume on the left hand, as the Imperialists did that of *France* ; but the Count *d' Avaux* being absent, a space was left for his name, and a
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Chair set in the place which he ought to have taken.

Afterward the Bishop of *Gurck* made a congratulatory compliment upon the happy conclusion of so great an affair as the Peace of the Empire, which would restore repose and tranquility to the rest of Christendom that were still in War. The Ministers of the Northern Princes who were not comprehended in that Peace, being dissatisfied with the conduct of the Imperialists, spoke in another strain of language. *M. Heng*, the *Danish* Ambassador next day after, publicly expressed his discontent at the house of the Marshal *D' Estrades*. He scrupled not to say openly in company, yea and several times to repeat it, That if it pleased the *French* King, he had sufficient authority to conclude a League with his most Christian Majesty, and to get it ratified by his *Danish* Majesty, who would oblige himself to make war against the Emperor, in what manner, and for as long time as his most Christian Majesty should desire him.

Seeing the Emperors Ambassadors could not obtain of the *French*, that an Article should be put into the Treaty, whereby the *French* King should consent to refer to arbitration the difficulties which they raised concerning

cerning the Rights of the ten Towns of *Alsatia*, of the Nobility of that Province, and of the three Bishopricks of *Lorrain*; before they signed the Peace, they entred a protestation into the Records of the Mediation, that it might appear, that though they had right to pretend that these affairs ought to have been referred to arbitration, yet they had rather consent that no mention should be made of them in the Treaty, than longer to delay the conclusion of the Peace for matters of which the *French* Ambassadors absolutely refused to take cognizance; contenting themselves to protest that that omission could no ways be prejudicial to the rights of the Empire.

The Ambassadors of *Sueden* refused also to insert into their Treaty with the Emperor, the verbal declaration which they gave of the sense of the third Article, acknowledging that they pretended not that that Article ought to oblige the Princes of the Empire that were still in war, to the confirmation of the Treaties of *Westphalia*, as to what concerned *Sueden*, knowing that these were affairs that ought to be adjusted by particular Treaties.

Nevertheless upon the refusal that the Ambassadors of *Sueden* made of inserting that

that interpretation into the Treaty, the Imperial Ambassadors prayed the Mediators that they would make mention of that explication in their Memoirs, and to set down in them by way of protestation, that if in the Treaty of the Emperor with *Sueden* there is no mention made of the customs that are raised at *Termende*, of the rights of the Dukes of *Mecklenbourg*, nor of those of the Town of *Bremen*; the reason was only, because the Ambassadors of *Sueden* alledged that for want of a free correspondence with his *Suedish* Majesty, they could not have instructions as to the points for which the Imperialists thought it not fit to delay the signing of the peace, since that without such a clause, these Rights were as well established under the authority and protection of the Empire.

Though the Treaty of the Peace made betwixt the Emperor and *Sueden*, was not signed until the 7th. yet it bore date the same day with that of the Emperor and *France*, because it was mentioned therein to be of the same date. And some time after, the news was brought that the peace of *France* and *Sueden*, with the Princes of the House of *Brunswick-Lunenbourg*, was signed at *Zell* on the sixth, by *M. de Pabenack*, who after that the *Suedes* were wholly out of

of *Pomerania*, stopping at *Hambourg*, went by order from the King to the Court of those Princes, who by this Treaty restore to the Crown of *Sueden* the Dutchy of *Bremen*, and all that they had got of the *Suedes*, except the Bailiage of *Tedinghansen*, which hath always been controverted, because it is inclosed within the Territories of the House of *Brunswick*, and the Provosty of *Domen*, that lyes between the *Wefer* and the *Elbe*.

The *Suedes* likewise yield to those Princes some Revenues of the Church, consisting in tythes which belonged to them upon account of the Bishoprick of *Bremen*, and some other Benefices. But the *French* King being willing fully to indemnifie the House of *Brunswick*, and to secure the peace of the Empire, his Majesty by that Treaty engages to pay to these Princes three hundred thousand Crowns, at the same time that the restitution is made to *Sueden* in the manner as was agreed upon.

M. de Meyerkron continued to make propositions at the *Hague*, where he seemed willing to have managed a Negotiation with the Count *d' Avaux*; but the offers he made, were still so general, that they gave no ground for a positive answer. And therefore that Ambassador made him the
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same declaration that the other *French* Ambassadors made at *Nimueguen*; telling him that in order to a more favourable hearing, the King of *Denmark* must begin, by releasing the *Suedish* Soldiers, who since the time that they were shipwrackt upon the Isle of *Barnholm*, were not only detained prisoners contrary to the priviledg of the Passports which they had; but likewise exposed to violence, which they daily suffered on design either to make them engage in the *Danish* service, or forsake that of *Sueden*. That the King of *Denmark* would by so doing purge himself from the suspicions of that shipwrack which the King nevertheless was rather inclined to attribute to Chance, and the mistake of Pilots, than any premeditated design; but that in the meantime, the inhuman manner of using and detaining of those forces could not but be thought very strange.

Though from the beginning of the Assembly, many instances had been made, and several expedients proposed by the *English* and *French*, for procuring to the Ambassadors of *Sueden* the liberty of Couriers, or at least of bare Letters to and from his *Suedish* Majesty; yet it could not be obtained from the King of *Denmark*. This gave occasion of fear, that the strictness which

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was observed in that Kingdom upon that subject, might hinder the conveyance of the Treaty newly signed with the Emperor, into *Sueden*; and that the ratification thereof might not be brought within the limited time. And therefore the Ambassadors of *Sueden* hired privately a Galliot at *Amsterdam*, which carried the Messenger to *Gottenberg*, from whence he might go by Land to any place where the *Suedish* Court was.

The Ambassadors of the Emperor having stipulated for the whole Empire in the Treaties of *France* and *Sueden*, by virtue only of the conclusion of the Diet of *Ratisbon* of the 31. of *May* 1677. The Ambassador of *Brandenbourg* produced a copy of it at *Nimueguen*, on the 18th of the Month, with a new protestation, alledging, that that conclusion of the Empire was not conform to the sense that was put upon it in the 36 Article of the Emperor's Treaty with *France*, and in the 12. of that of the Emperor with *Sueden*; and that the Imperial Ambassadors were so far from having by that means sufficient authority to treat in name of the whole Empire, that on the contrary the Emperor was thereby required to conclude nothing at *Nimueguen* without first submitting it to the deliberation of
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the Diet; and that the Ambassadors of his Imperial Majesty, by adding in these Articles, That all protestations that might be made in the Empire against that Peace, were to be of no effect; had committed the greatest violation, and manifestly contravened the Golden Bull, the Imperial Capitulations, the Constitutions of the Empire, and the very Treaties of *Westphalia*, on which they pretended to settle the peace of the Empire.

Although the King of *Denmark* and Elector of *Brandenbourg* saw themselves abandoned by all their Allies, and left alone in the War, exposed to all that *France* could undertake against them both by sea and land; yet they could not be brought to a resolution of restoring what they had conquered from *Sueden*; they dealt with the *French* King, and with his Ambassadors; but his Majesty gave them answer, and caused his Ambassadors to do the like, That he could not listen to the propositions that they made to him; that he had no quarrel with the King of *Denmark* nor the Elector of *Brandenbourg*; that they should give satisfaction to *Sueden*; and when that Crown was contented, his Majesty would be so likewise.

But the *French* King stopt not there: for after that the Peace was signed, his Majesty desiring

desiring that the rest of *Germany* might likewise be at quiet as soon as possibly could be, on the 24th of *February* did by his Ambassadors declare to Sir *Lionel Jenkins*, the *English* Mediator, That if within the Month of *March* the King of *Denmark* and Elector of *Brandenbourg* did not give full satisfaction to *Sueden*, his Majesty should then be at freedom to demand new conditions, which would be, that *Lipstadt* should be restored to the Elector of *Cologne*; and that the King of *Denmark* and Elector of *Brandenbourg* should pay to his Majesty all the Charges of the War.

That Declaration of the *French* King, and the answers which his Majesty gave to all the propositions, which came short of a full satisfaction to *Sueden*, were the more uneasy to the Elector of *Brandenbourg*, that he had just then forced the *Suedish* Army to leave *Prussia*, and to return with much haste into *Livonia*, but more harassed with sickness and long marches, than the losses they sustained in several skirmishes, which happened in their retreat betwixt the areerguard of the *Suedes* and some parties of the Electors Forces.

The Ambassadors of *Sueden* finding their affairs in a better condition since the peace, thought themselves obliged to remit no-

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thing of their pretensions; and therefore they patiently expected the effect of the *French King's Declaration*, and of what his Majesty was preparing to do for them. They made no doubt but that all would terminate in the satisfaction of *Sueden*, without any great effects on their part. They found that the Forces of *Denmark* were weakened in *Schonen*, because the Bishop of *Munster* began already to recall the Forces which his Predecessor had sent to his *Danish* Majesty, who without that assistance could hardly make head against the *Suedes* in *Schonen*. The *Suedes* reckoned the Treaty of that Bishop as good as already concluded. He is indeed of a peaceful disposition, but nevertheless vigorous and firm, as a great Prince ought to be, in maintaining his lawful pretensions by the Sword. The conclusion of his Treaty stood in effect upon an hundred thousand Crowns; and that Prelate was satisfied that *Sueden* should leave no more in his possession but only the Bailliage of *Wilshonsen*, as a Mortgage for the payment of that sum.

The Elector of *Bavaria* on his part represented to the Diet at *Ratisbon* the necessity of settling the Empire by procuring the Peace of the North; and that that could not be done, but by re-establishing the
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the Treaties of *Westphalia*, and the satisfaction of *Sueden*, for which the whole Empire ought to be concerned. The Emperors Ministers who were at that Diet, found that the Protestation which the Elector of *Brandenbourg* caused to be made there, wounded the Authority of his Imperial Majesty; most of the Princes of *Germany* saw evidently, that none had advantage by the War, but those that desired not Peace; so that it was to be hoped that private Interests would at length give place to the publick concern of the whole Empire; and that the passion which those Princes had to spoil *Sueden*, could not long stave off a Peace which was so earnestly desired by so many people.

The Emperor had already testified how much he concerned himself in the satisfaction of *Sueden*, by his desire to procure the repose of the Empire. The Letter which the Elector of *Brandenbourg* wrote to his Imperial Majesty the 24th of *November*, gave occasion to an Answer; which made him fully understand, That he had no cause to hope that the Empire would support his Interests. He complained that the Emperor seemed disposed to peace, separately from the other Princes who continued in War; and that the project of the peace

of the Empire, which his Majesties Ambassadors had made at *Nimneguen*, offered and contained such conditions as neither *France* nor *Sueden* would have demanded, especially in a time when having driven the *Suedes* wholly out of the Empire, he had for ever settled and secured the peace and tranquillity thereof.

But all the reasons that his Electoral Highness alledged to incline the Emperor to continue the War, and to procure better conditions for him, were overthrown by that Answer, which bore, That the Elector of *Brandenbourg* would have done better not to believe that the Emperor had ever any design to act against equity, or to engage in any proceeding contrary to the conclusions of the Diet of the Empire. That his Imperial Majesty saw plainly, that all his Confederates had made War only for their particular Interests, since they abandoned him by making separately their peace: But that his actings were of another nature, seeing he would not divide his Interests from those of the whole Empire, upon which he would have certainly drawn the utmost calamities, if he had followed those examples. Moreover, that in the league made betwixt his Imperial Majesty and his Electoral Highness, there was nothing

nothing to be found that obliged the Emperor to procure to his Highness the possession of the Conquests that he had obtained from *Sueden*: That on the contrary the Constitutions of the Empire required that that Crown should always be one of the chief members thereof. In fine, that the Emperor himself was so far from listening to the reasons that were alledged for continuing the War, that he had willingly yielded part of his own Revenue for the securing of a firm Peace.

In the same answer, the Emperor put the Elector of *Brandenbourg* in mind, That having engaged with the *States-General* of the *United Provinces* in the beginning of this War with consent of the Emperor and Empire, he had afterward against all reason changed his Conduct, and without acquainting them, joined with *France*; that his Imperial Majesty had much ado to take him off from that engagement, drawing upon himself great enemies thereby, and giving him considerable advantages: That by threatening, as he did, to conclude a separate Peace as often as his Imperial Majesty had by his Ministers made propositions of peace to him, he himself had given him cause to mind his own, and to leave him on his part to do as he should think good.

In a word, that it was not for the interest of the Empire, that *Sueden* losing the Territories that it had therein, should lye always upon the catch to regain them, and be continually stirring upon that account, to disturb the publick Peace; and that therefore he would by consequent do well to think of making his accommodation with that Crown.

Though the Ambassadors of *Denmark* and *Brandenbourg* had no great ground to rely upon their Negotiations, and that they plainly saw that the Conditions of Peace depended absolutely on the pleasure of the *French* King, yet they left nothing undone at *Nimueguen*, which they judged necessary to maintain their Pretensions. The Ambassador of *Brandenbourg* perceiving that the Declaration made by the *French* the 24th, threatned his Electoral Highness with the loss of *Leipstadt*, and the reimbursement of the charges of the War, if within the Month of *March* he concluded not the Peace, made on the 26. a kind of citation to the Ambassadors of the Princes, who had made their Peace with *France*, that he might let them see the obligation they stood in of warranting the Leagues which his Electoral Highness had made with them upon occasion of the present War.

All these Declarations were conceived almost in the same terms ; but in that which that Ambassador gave to the *Spaniards*, he said that the rigour which the *French* King shewed towards his Electoral Highness, was an effect of the separate Treaties that some of the Confederates had made with *France*, to the prejudice of his Master ; and he declared, that before he could answer the *French* Ambassadors, it was necessary he should know how his Catholick Majesty pretended to discharge himself of the engagement he had made with his Master by the 14 and 24 Articles of their League, whereby the King of *Spain* was not only to procure Peace to his Electoral Highness, but also to indemnifie him as to the losses that he might suffer in the Countrey of *Cleves*. And seeing the term prescribed to his Master by *France* was very short, he prayed the *Spanish* Ambassadors, with all expedition to inform him of his Catholick Majesties intention as to the performance of those two Articles, that he might accordingly make his answer to the Declaration of his most Christian Majesty.

These formalities were no real advances towards the Peace. The Ambassadors of the North still flattered themselves with the hopes, that the ratification of the Em-

perors Peace might meet with such obstacles in the Dyet at *Ratisbonne*, as might change the face of affairs. Nevertheless that Dyet was of a quite contrary disposition, and nothing but the interests of the Duke of *Lorrain* retarded that ratification on the Emperors part.

I must here call to mind what I mentioned before, that the *French* King having granted five different Plenary Commissions, for treating with the five principal Confederates that were engaged in War against his Majesty, he would give no particular one for treating with the Duke of *Lorrain*, (though all the Confederates had solicited it by means of the Mediators); and therefore that Prince having been obliged to list himself under some one or other of the Confederates, committed his concerns to the care of the Ambassadors of the Emperor, who in the Treaty that was concluded betwixt the Emperor and *France*, having stipulated for his pretensions, it was the Emperors part to procure the ratification of the Articles that concerned the Duke of *Lorrain*.

March 1679. Nevertheless the Imperial Ambassadors declared on the 12th of *March*, That the Conditions which concerned

cerned that Prince, were so hard, that if *France* would not mitigate them, and make them more acceptable, they must be cancelled out of the Treaty, or declared to be held as not comprehended therein, seeing the Emperor could not procure them to be ratified, nor by consequent promise to do it. The *French* Ambassadors made answer, That their Kings ratification which they had in custody, being simple and unconditionated, that of the Emperor behoved to be so too; so that the Duke of *Lorrain* found by experience, that into whose hands soever he committed his Interests, he was not to hope for so advantageous Conditions, as he might have obtained from the *French* King, if he had wholly referred himself to his Majesty.

The Ambassador of *Brandenbourg* made the answer of the other Ambassadors a pretext for his delaying to give a return to the Declaration of the *French*, until such time as he might have orders from the Elector his Master: So that although he made answer on the 11, yet he declared that it was only in expectation of instructions, that no advantage might be drawn from his silence. But as he would not directly complain of *France*, he imputed to *Sueden* all the cause of the severity which he found in the
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Declaration of the 24th of February.

This Ambassador said, that such a kind of Declaration could not have been made, but at the instance of *Sueden*; that his Electoral Highness would be much surprized, to find that that Crown charged him with unwillingness to accept of reasonable Propositions of Peace, seeing the *Suedish* Ambassadors could not deny, but that it was themselves who refused to answer to the Projects of Peace, which he gave in to Sir *Lionel Jenkins*, the *English* Mediator, by expresse Orders from his Master; that, moreover, he did not believe that it was the intention of the *French* Ambassadors, to make it be thought that the satisfaction which his Electoral Highness pretended, did offer violence to the Treaties of *Westphalia*, nor that what *Sueden* possessed in the Empire was become unalienable, as if the States and Territories of the Empire could not pass from one to another of its Members, without violating of those Treaties: that upon that ground only his most Christian Majesty had concluded Peace with the Princes of the house of *Brunswick*, who retained some part of that which *Sueden* heretofore possessed in the Empire, and that the Elector his Master might with much more justice pretend

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to a satisfaction of the same nature. He furthermore added, That his Electoral Highness would be amazed to understand that the *French* should pretend to make him pay the charges of the War, and much more to dipossess him of *Leipstadt* without any formality, contrary to the Constitutions of the Empire, and the very Treaties of *Westphalia*; and that with so much the less reason, that the Count of *Lippe*, to whom the half of *Leipstadt* belonged, had not the least quarrel with *Sueden*.

All who, were less concerned than *France* in the restauration of *Sueden*; and the Mediators themselves said openly, That the too great obstinacy with which that Crown pretended to the intire restitution of all that it had lost during this War, would be an insuperable obstacle to the peace. That it was not to be expected that *Sueden* would make too much haste to end the War, since the Eight hundred thousand Crowns of Subsidy which that King had from *France*, were better to him than the Revenues of *Pomerania*, and all that he possessed in *Germany*. That if the *French* King did not by his Power make the peace of *Sueden*, that Crown would never make the least advance towards it, especially so long as it was so well supported by the men and money of *France*. In

In the mean while the *French* Ambassadors having seen the Answer that the *Danish* Ambassador made, thought fit to reply to it on the 14th. saying, That the *French* King's design being to make the peace of the Empire universal, his Majesty had stipulated in the Treaty, that he should employ all his Offices with the King of *Sweden*, and the Emperor the like with his Confederates, to incline them to consent to a truce for better carrying on of the peace. That the *Swedish* Ambassadors were the first that consented to it, even by the Treaty, whilst that those of *Denmark* and *Brandenbourg* were so far from condescending to what had been stipulated for them, that on the contrary they had protested against the Treaty, and used still all their endeavours to incline the Empire to prefer the continuation of the War before the ratification of the peace.

The *French* Ambassadors subjoined, That it was this procedure of the Confederates which had given occasion to his Majesty of taking more efficacious measures for obtaining of a general peace with as much expedition as the good of the people required, and therefore for making the Declaration of the 24th of *February*, which was so much the more reasonable in the pretension
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sions it contained, in that all equity allowed that those who share most in the inconveniences of War, should make likewise the greatest advantages of it.

The Elector of *Cologne*, with whom peace was made, was at present most exposed to the passage of Forces; and his most Christian Majesty not desiring to make advantage of his Armies to the prejudice of the Empire, was willing thereby to gratifie that Prince of all the rest, to whom the continuation of a War, which the obstinacy alone of the Elector of *Brandenbourg* entertained still in the Empire, was most prejudicial. At length the *French* Ambassadors declared that they would never consent to any proposition, unless the re-establishment of the Treaties of *Westphalia* was fully admitted.

All men were of opinion, that the cessation of Arms mentioned in the Treaty of Peace betwixt the Empire and *France*, was the most proper means of compassing the Peace of the North. And therefore the Ambassador of *Brandenbourg* finding that the *French* charged him in their Reply, with refusing to accept of that Cessation, and that at the same time they declared that they could not admit of any proposition which was not grounded on the Treaties

ties of *Westphalia*, thought himself obliged without further delay to make an Answer, which he did the 16th.

He said, That if by a repugnancy which is common on such occasions, he had disapproved what the Imperial Ambassadors had concluded with *France* to the prejudice of his Master, it could not be inferred from thence, that he was unwilling to accept the cessation of Arms, seeing he had made known to the *French* Ambassadors, by the *English* Mediators, that he was ready to conclude it upon reasonable conditions. That as the King of *Denmark* and Elector of *Brandenbourg* had cause to be very well satisfied with the Mediators; so their Ambassadors ought not, without express Orders, to have the same respect for the offers of the Imperial Ambassadors, that those of *Sueden* ought to have for the care that the *French* Ambassadors took of the concerns of that Crown; and so much the rather, because that if in this juncture *France* particularly performed the Articles of the League betwixt it and *Sueden*, it was manifest that the Emperor did violate that which was contracted betwixt him and the Princes whom he abandoned.

The Ambassador added, That the Elector his Master had only engaged in the War,

War, to maintain the Peace of *Westphalia*, against the Invasion of *Sueden* : That his Electoral Highness was willing to have contributed what he could to the preservation of that Peace in its full force ; but that since it was the intent of the same Peace, that those who should break it, to the prejudice of those that are comprehended therein, should make reparation, according to the sentence of the Emperor and Empire ; there was nothing more just, than to put in execution the Decree which the Emperor and Empire had given against *Sueden* in the present case ; and that it was far greater obstinacy to refuse that which was reasonable, than to pretend to what was lawfully ones due.

The Mediators in the mean time, and the Ambassadors of all the Princes, who had made their Peace, perceiving that the Month of *March*, which the *French* King allowed as the longest delay to the Elector of *Brandenbourg*, was drilled on in debates and disputes in Writing, without any serious application to the promoting of the Peace, solicited the *French* Ambassadors to consent to a cessation of Arms, during all the following Month, not doubting but in that time all the difficulties that hindered the conclusion of the general Peace,

Peace might at length be removed.

These solicitations made the *French* Ambassadors declare to the Mediators, on the 26. that in compliance with the Instances that had been made to them, both by them, and the Bishop of *Gurck*, in name of the Ambassadors of *Denmark* and *Brandenbourg*, for a suspension of Arms until the first of *May*, they consented in name of the King their Master, and his Allies, to a cessation during the whole Month of *April*, provided the same Ambassadors of *Denmark* and *Brandenbourg* accepted of it without delay, saying, it was neither the fault of them, nor of their Allies, that that Truce was not granted at the time that they signed the Peace with the Emperor, according to the offers that were made then; but that it was the protestations of the Ambassadors of *Denmark* and *Brandenbourg* only which was the cause it did not then take effect.

The *French* Ambassadors declared to the Mediators at the same time, that they had not only received the ratification of the Peace, which they had signed with the Imperial Ambassadors the 5th of *February*; but that also his most Christian Majesty desiring to see that Peace with all expedition accomplished for the repose of the Empire, he

he had sent them a commission for the fulfilling of the Treaty ; so that since it was not his fault that the Empire did not instantly reap the fruits of so desired a Peace, if it happened that the ratification of the Emperor should not be exchanged within the time prescribed by the Treaty, they demanded from that instant in name of the King, that the demolition of *Philipsbourg*, and the surrender of all *Bri'gow* might be granted to his Majesty, and added to the Treaty, for satisfaction of the charges that he was obliged to be at. And as to the Duke of *Lorrain*, that if that Prince did not in the same time fully and plainly ratify all that the Imperial Ambassadors had stipulated for him ; his Majesty in that case held himself acquitted from all the conditions that he had granted to him.

The circumstance which the *French* Ambassadors added to their declaration, of the Instances which they said were made to them by the Bishop of *Gurck* in the name of the Ambassadors of *Denmark* and *Brandenbourg*, so sensibly touched those two Ambassadors, that, thinking their Honour thereby much offended, they took a great deal of pains to make the contrary appear, by long answers which they made on that subject on the eighteenth ; affirming that

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they had never neither desired nor rejected the cessation of Arms: but nevertheless, that they might omit nothing that might in any probability tend to the promoting of the Peace, they accepted the Truce upon such conditions as should on both sides be agreed upon.

Never were any Ambassadors more fond of Writing than those of *Denmark* and *Brandenbourg*; their debates had already occasioned as many publick Writings during the Month of *March* alone, as had been made during the negotiation of all the other Treaties put together. In the mean time the *French* Ambassadors, that they might give these Ambassadors all the satisfaction that they could desire upon so nice a point, declared on the Nineteenth,

That since the Ambassadors of *Denmark* and *Brandenbourg* thought themselves wronged, in that they could be suspected to have demanded or desired a cessation of Arms, they consented that the Mediators might give them a publick Act thereupon, to be joyned to the protestations which they had made against the peace of the Empire; whilst that they on the contrary, being perswaded that all the proceedings of the King their Master for the advancement of the general Peace, in a time when he
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was in a condition to continue the War with advantage, argued great glory to his Majesty: They still offered the cessation on the same conditions which they proposed to the *English* Mediators, without derogating, in the mean time, from their Declaration of the 24th of *February*, in case that the Peace was not signed in the Month of *March*, and that they accepted not the Truce: But that if they consented to it for the whole Month of *April*, it was his Majesties will, that during all that Month, the King of *Denmark* and Elector of *Brandenbourg* might have liberty to conclude the Peace, without requiring the new Conditions that had been demanded of them.

At length, after so many debates and proceedings to no great purpose, the Treaty of cessation was signed at *Nimueguen* the last of *March*, to continue till the first of *May*, and was exchanged both in name of his most Christian Majesty and King of *Sweden*, betwixt the *French* Ambassadors on the one part, and those of *Denmark* and *Brandenbourg* on the other. But seeing, that before the signing of that Treaty, the *French* Intendant had caused Contributions to be demanded from the Country of *Cleves* on the other side of the *Rhine*, and that

the *French* Ambassadors could not promise that they should not be pretended, notwithstanding the conclusion of the cessation, the same Ambassadors consented by a publick Act, that the *Dutch* Ambassadors should pass their word for them; that they should Write about it to the King, that they might know his intentions, and that in the mean time no hostile execution should be made during the space of Fifteen days; after which, if his Majesty thought good that these Contributions should be exacted, they engaged to give the Inhabitants of the Countrey Three days more, to take such measures in as they should think fit.

The Truce that was now signed, instead of advancing the negotiation, on the contrary stopped the course thereof during all the time that it lasted; because the *French* Ambassadors sticking to their Declarations, there was no more to be said: So that the Two Princes that remained still in War, Judged it more convenient to negotiate their Peace with the King himself, than at *Nimueguen*, not doubting but that they might promise themselves some advantage to their interests from Treating rather with a great Prince, than being too headstrong in defending the same at *Nimueguen*, by a long

long train of proceedings, from which they had no great cause to expect a happy conclusion.

The Elector of *Brandenbourg* had for that effect, already sent *M. Meinders* to the *French* Court; and his *Danish* Majesty ordered *M. de Myerkron* his Envoy to the States General, to go immediately and wait upon the King. In the mean time, a great part of *Europe* was alarmed at the Fleet which the most Christian King was setting out to Sea: *Italy*, and particularly the Republick of *Genoa* were much startled thereat. *Denmark* feared a descent in the Countrey of *Holstein*; and the Parliament of *England*, (where there happened such commotions, that the Duke of *York* was obliged to depart out of the Kingdom) conceived some Jealousies at the *French* Naval preparations.

In the mean while the Ambassadors of *Sweden* having by two several Couriers, and contrary ways, sent to the King their Master the Treaty of Peace which they had signed with the Emperor, that by that means, notwithstanding the severity of the *Danes* concerning free passage, they might receive the ratification in time; these two Couriers arrived at *Nimueguen* from several places the 17th and 18th, with the ratifi-

cation in good form ; But his *Swedish* Majesty refused to confirm the Treaty, which was concluded with the Princes of *Brunswick* ; because they thought in *Sweden* that they had yielded to them a great deal too much, and the rather, that the most Christian King indemnified all these Princes at his proper charges.

About the same time the President Canon, Plenipotentiary from the Duke of *Lorraine*, renewed his instances with the *French* Ambassadors, that he might obtain some moderation of the conditions that had been stipulated for his Master. The Imperial Ambassadors did also the like, but without any success : So that they thought it enough to declare that his Imperial Majesty pretended to be no longer obliged by the Articles that concerned that Prince, by which his most Christian Majesty had declared himself obliged, and they demanded that that Peace might be deferred until another time ; in so much that the Imperialists being unwilling that the time mentioned in the Treaty should expire, without exchanging the ratifications, because of the pretensions made by the *French* in their last declaration of the 26th past, they resolved to make the exchange the 19th of *April*.

April

April 1679, There arose an unexpected difficulty concerning the exchange of the ratifications; for the Mediators who had not signed the Peace, would not take it upon them: The *Nuncio* likewise excused himself from doing it, because he had protested against the same Peace, in respect it was concluded in conformity to the Treaties of *Westphalia*, against which *Rome* had then protested, because of the revenues of the Church, which they were then obliged to secularise and yield up to Protestants, without which it had been impossible to have procured Peace to *Germany*. So that the expedient that was found out, was to make the exchange of the ratifications by the hands of Secretaries, who were reciprocally sent on both sides. And seeing the ratifications of *Sweden* were happily arrived the day before, they were exchanged in the same manner; so that that was a day of Ratifications: The Ratifications of the Treaty of Peace concluded betwixt *France* and the Bishop of *Munster* being the same day exchanged.

On the 20th the Envoy of *Lorraine* protested to the Mediators, that the Duke his Master pretended not to be obliged by the Articles stipulated for him in the Treaty of the Empire; and Eight days after declared

to the same Mediators, that though his Highness of *Lorrain* thought it not convenient to accept nor ratifie the Articles that concerned him, yet it was not his intention to continue, nor to be reckoned an enemy of *France*, nor of his most Christian Majesty, whose humble Servant he protested he was; the same Declaration was by the same Envoy made to the *French Ambassadors*; telling them moreover, that he did it by expresse order from his Master, and not in compliment.

In the mean time the *French Forces* that were in the Countrey of *Cleves* and *Juliers* seeing the time of the Truce expired, and having no advice given them, that there was appearance that the Elector of *Brandenbourg* would conclude his Peace upon the conditions demanded by the *French King*, put themselves in a condition the first of *May*, 1679, to pass the *Rhine*, over which they had made a Bridge at *Ordینگlen*. General *Spaen* who commanded the *Brandenbourg Forces*, seemed as if he would oppose their passage with what Soldiers and Trained-bands he had on the other side of that River; but he soon retreated, when he understood that the *French Army* had passed it on flying Bridges above and below *Augerorts* at the meeting of the *Auger* and

and *Rhine* : So that the shortest expedient that that General and the Ambassador of his Electoral Highness could find, to secure, as much as was possible, the Countreys into which the *French Forces* were about to enter, was to procure a conference at *Santben* with *M. Colbert*, that they might endeavour to get the Truce prolonged.

Santben is a little Town three Leagues from *Wesel*, whether Monsieur *Blaspier* and General *spaen* went : Monsieur *Colbert* came there the Third of the Month, and Monsieur *Calvo* who commanded the *French Forces*, was ordered to be present, to the end that according to the success of that negotiation, he might desist, or pursue the enterprises that he was in condition to make : And therefore since they were straitened by time, and that the Generals could not leave their Quarters, this place was chosen as not being far distant, for holding of that conference, wherein the very same day the Treaty of Truce which was signed at *Nimueguen*, until the first of *May*, was prolonged for Fifteen days, to begin next day the Fourth of the Month ; which lengthened the cessation of Arms until the 19th, the King being unwilling to grant a longer time, that he might sooner hasten the Peace, and not
leave

leave so many people in an uncertainty of a thing they so much desired.

The chief cenditions that *M. Colbert* obtained for the prolongation of the Truce, were, that as a proof of the sincerity where-with the Elector intended to act with his most Christian Majesty, General *Spaen* put *Wesel* and *Lipstadt* into his hands, to be kept by him until the Peace betwixt his Majesty and his Allies on the one part, and his Electoral Highness on the other, should be signed and ratified. These Conditions seemed the stranger, in that the Elector of *Brandenbourg* made no great difficulty in granting of them, offering even to put *Schinscance* into his Majesties hands, who refused it, that he might not any ways alarm the States General, to whom, by the Count *D'Avaux* his extraordinary Ambassador, he gave that testimony of his good will.

It was not easie to be conceived what could be the policy of the Elector of *Brandenbourg*, in willingly delivering up those places; if he desired the Peace in good earnest, as it was probable, since he thereby put himself in greater need of concluding it, what advantage did he find in exposing his Countrey to ruine, for some few weeks delay in the conclusion of the Treaty? Or if he had a design to defend himself, and that he

he hoped he was able to resist a powerful Army, he might have begun by *Wesel*, which was a strong place, and wherein he had a good Garrison that might have afforded his Enemies business upon their entry into his Countrey.

It was thought that the Elector of *Brandenbourg* perceived very well that he could not hold out long; and that he knew that if the *French* entered by force, not only that whole Countrey would be utterly ruined, but that likewise there would be so great a consternation throughout all his other Territories, that it would be hard for him to secure any of them; that upon these considerations he had yielded up those places, that he might the better preserve them; and the rather that with the Forces he drew out of *Wesel* and *Lipstadt*, he would be in a condition of making a vigorous resistance at *Minden*, and to obtain from *France* more advantageous conditions than those which he could not as yet resolve to embrace: but before experience made appear how little security there was in that choice, it was not very hard to foresee that the Elector of *Brandenbourg* was not like to find great advantage thereby.

About this time, the Marechal *D' Estrades* having got leave from the King his
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Master to leave *Nimueguen*, parted from thence with his whole Family on the Fifth, and M. *Colbert*, to whom alone the King referred what remained of the negotiation at *Nimueguen*, signed the same day the prolongation of the Truce with the Ambassador of *Denmark*, upon the same conditions that were agreed upon at *Santhen* with the Ambassador of *Brandenbourg*, except the Article concerning the places which were to be delivered up to his Majesty.

M. *Meinders* finding no success in his Negotiation with his most Christian Majesty, having parted from the *French* Court upon his return to the Elector his Master, that he might receive from him more ample instructions, and a larger commission, returned at that time to *Nimueguen*, where on the morrow the 11th of the Month, he had a long conference with M. *Colbert*, which made it hoped that the Peace of *Brandenbourg* would be speedily concluded; but a few days after, M. *Meinders* took his Journey back to *Paris*.

The Emperor in the mean time gave no orders to his Ambassadors concerning the fulfilling of the Treaty of the Empire; which occasioned great complaining amongst all the people of the Countries that were possessed by the *French*; seeing that
far

far from enjoying the fruit of Peace, they found themselves on the contrary almost undone by the vast contributions which they payed for maintainance of the *French* Forces; they carried their grievances even to the Mediators at *Nimueguen*, and the Nuncio having reported them to M. *Colbert* by a Memoir that he gave him the 14th, that Ambassador offered to cause the *French* Forces to draw out of the posts which they possessed, provided that the Emperor would evacuate the places which his Army held in the Empire, according to the intent of the 27. Article of the Treaty of Peace.

At that time the Princes of *Brunswick* solicited the Mediators, the Ambassadors of the Empire, and of *France*, that the Treaty which they had made with *France* and *Sueden*, might be declared to make a part of the Treaty concluded at *Nimueguen* betwixt the Emperor and those two Crowns. The Imperial Ambassadors were for committing the affair to *Vienna*; but M. *Colbert* gave those Princes on the Kings part an Act of inclusion into the Treaty of the Empire.

The Elector of *Brandenbourg* found now that he gained nothing by delaying to accept the Conditions which the *French* had long ago proposed to him; for the Forces
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that fell into his Countrey of the *March*, put him to a stand ; and those whom he had led into *Prussia* against the *Suedes*, suffered much, and were ruined by the long *Marches* which he caused them to make that they might come and defend *Minden*. And therefore his Electoral Highness, that he might omit nothing that would tend to his advantage, resolved to Write to the French King, and to try if he could obtain from his Majesties generosity, what he could not hope for by any other means.

I thought fit here to insert that Letter at length, because I found it would be difficult to express the force of so fine a Letter by way of abstract ; besides, unless I gave the exact Copy of it, it might probably be hard to be believed that a great Prince, such as the Elector of *Brandenbourg*, would write with so much respect and submission to his Majesty.

*The Letter from the Elector of Brandenbourg
to the French King.*

Postdam the 16. May, 1679.

My Lord,

‘**I**T is impossible but that your Majesty,
‘ according to the great wisdom where-
with

with God has endowed you, does easily perceive the moderation and justice of my pretensions : and it being so, that you must offer violence to that Generosity and Greatness of Soul which is natural to your Majesty, in forcing me to conditions of peace that are not only injurious to me, but ignominious also. God, who is just, seeing the righteousness of my Cause, hath prospered my Arms with the conquest of all *Pomerania* ; and your Majesty makes me give back the greatest part of it, which I put into your hands that I may preserve the rest, which is but a small matter in respect of what I have gained with the loss of my blood and the ruine of my subjects. Is it not then just, my Lord, that since your Majesty obliges me to part from so great and fair Cities, and so much of my Enemies Countrey, you should likewise oblige the *Suedes* to leave me the rest; and that your Majesty having so far concerned your self for the party that had no right to demand any thing, should concern your self also for him who had right to keep all, but yet yields the greatest part meerly in consideration of your Majesty? I am informed that your Ministers object to me the Interest of your Glory and Honour ; and know that that is a powerful
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‘ motive to animate a great soul to under-
‘ takings : But suffer me to put you in
‘ mind, That Justice is the source and rule of
‘ Glory ; and that I having that on my side,
‘ it is far greater and more solid glory to
‘ support a just and moderate pretension
‘ than to favour one that is nothing less.
‘ And certainly could your Majesty but
‘ hear the discourse of all *Europe*, and
‘ weigh it with the reasons that interest
‘ suggests to you from my Enemies, I am
‘ confident you would instantly decide in
‘ my favours, and so prevent the judgment
‘ of disinterested posterity. Withall, my
‘ Lord, I am very sensible that the Match
‘ is too unequal betwixt your Majesties
‘ Forces and mine, and that I am unable to
‘ resist a King who alone hath carried the
‘ burden of a War against the greatest Pow-
‘ ers of *Europe*, and hath with so much
‘ glory and success gone through with it: But
‘ can your Majesty find any advantage in
‘ the ruine of a Prince who is so desirous
‘ to serve you ; and who being preserved,
‘ may contribute more to your service than
‘ a bare willingness ? Your Majesty will,
‘ certainly, be the first that will regret my
‘ ruine, since you cannot easily find in all the
‘ world besides, one who is more really and
‘ with greater respect and zeal than my
‘ self, *Your Majesties, &c.* The

The Duke of *Lorrain* also, who was not willing to neglect any thing that might give the *French* King fresh evidences of his desire to merit the favour of his Majesty, was not satisfied with the assurances which he had already caused to be given to him, but likewise got the Mediators to declare to *M. Colbert*, That the Emperor had taken into his service all the *Lorrain* forces; and in the publick Declaration which he made at *Nimueguen*, he said that he had delivered his Forces to a Prince at peace with *France*, that he might make appear to the King, that though he was expelled his own Dominions, yet he would do nothing that might give his Majesty ground to deprive him of the honout of his favour.

There was no appearance in the mean time that *Germany* would so soon taste of the fruit of the Peace, because there was no forwardness shew'd for the fulfilling of the Treaty: for though the accomplishment of it was very necessary for the ease of a great many Provinces of the Empire; yet the Imperial Ambassadors testified no great sollicitude for attaining to so desired an end. But *M. Colbert* having by the Mediators acquainted them with the commission that he had received from the King his Master to act alone as to the executing of
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the Treaties, they agreed to meet on the 22. at the Town-Hall of *Nimueguen*, in presence of Sir *Lionel Jenkins* Mediator. That Conference lasted four hours, but without any agreement. As to the explication of the 27. Article of the Treaty of Peace, the Imperialists said that they were ready to remove their Forces from the places they possessed, so soon as they were required to do it by the States of the Empire. But the *French* Ambassador maintained that the Emperor ought to remove them without any requisition, seeing that Article was absolute, and without condition, equally obliging both parties fairly to evacuate all the places which they possessed, within a Month after the exchange of the Ratifications, without further delay.

The King of *Denmark's* Resolution of treating his Peace with the King himself, put an end to the Negotiation of the Ambassador of that Court at *Nimueguen*. Nevertheless *Monsieur de Meyerkron* was not at first favourably accepted of his Majesty, who refused to receive the King of *Denmark's* Letter, because in that Letter he gave him not the title of Majesty, though that retarded not long the Negotiation. The King approved of the measures that were taken of treating the Peace of the North
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in *Schonen*. And M. *Heugh*, Ambassador from his *Danish* Majesty at *Nimueguen*, acquainted M. *Colbert* on the 26. with the Conference that was to be held at *Londen*, where M. *de Feuquieres*, Ambassador from his Most Christian Majesty in *Sueden*, was to meet the Minister of the King of *Denmark*. The *Suedish* Ratification of the Treaty of Peace betwixt that Crown and the Bishop of *Munster*, was at that time brought to *Nimueguen*; but it was not as yet exchanged, because of some difficulties that were found in the Treaty which was signed the 22. of *March*.

The *French* Forces began already to spread in the *Marck* of *Brandenbourg*, and there came daily new Troops to *Wesel*, to encrease the Army which the *Mareschal de Crequi* was to command; Equipage, Artillery, and all necessary Ammunition, were continually brought; and the *French* used the greater diligence to put themselves in a condition of making some enterprize, because M. *Meinders* was not at all urgent in his Negotiation with the King. He spake but indifferently as to that concern, and said that the Elector his Master could not make peace, if *Stetin*, and the countrey beyond the *Oder*, were not given up to him.

Most of the Princes of *Germany* offered their offices for the promoting of that Peace. The Elector of *Saxony* offered his Mediation; but the Letter which he wrote to the *French* King upon that subject, having been given by M. de *Blasper* to M. *Colbert* to be sent to his Majesty, that Ambassador refused to do it, seeing the Elector of *Brandenbourg* had a Minister at Court, who might discharge that office. The Princes of *Brunswick* made also some instances in favour also of his Electoral Highness, that they might procure a delay in the Military executions, seeming to be persuaded that that peace would not fail to give the King all kind of satisfaction.

It was nevertheless a rare thing to see that it behoved the *French* Ambassadors to press the *Imperialists* to consent to the ending of the Empire by consummating of the peace. For this end M. *Colbert* thought a second Conference necessary; in which the *Imperialists* would not maintain the reasons which they had alledged in the former, without palpable prevarication. He therefore on the second of *June* 1679. proposed to the Mediators, that they would bring about that Conference, in which it would be convenient that all the Ministers of the Princes of the Empire at *Nimueguen*, might be

be present, to the end it might appear whether the Emperor or *French* King were the cause of the delay of that performance on which the repose of so many people depended. But the Emperors Ambassadors thinking that a Conference in presence of the Ministers of the Princes of the Empire would injure the Authority of his Imperial Majesty, absolutely refused it, saying that the Decree which they had from the Dyet at *Ratisbon*, sufficiently authorised the Emperor to act as his Imperial Majesty should think fitting touching the concerns of the Peace and present War.

At that time the Minister of the Elector of *Cologne* presented a Memoir to the Mediators, demanding that *Bonne* might be evacuated by the Imperial Garison ; and at the same time published the Resolution which the Dyet at *Ratisbon* had taken the 22. of the foregoing Month, whereby the Emperor was entreated to command that the places in the Empire possessed by the Imperial Troops might be evacuated, so that the Imperialins could not refuse a second Conference upon that occasion at the Town-hall. But for all that, it was not possible to bring them to condescend to the evacuation of the places ; pretending that they had not as yet had any advice of that result of the

Dyet of the Empire. Nevertheless in regard of the instance that had been made by the Minister of the Elector of *Cologne*, they offered to draw all the Forces out of his Countrey, provided that the *French* drew theirs out of the Countreys of *Liege* and *Juliers*.

M. *Colbert* could not condescend to that Proposition; but he offered to maintain with all exactness at the Kings charges, the Garisons of the places which his Majesty had reserved in the Empire, to be employed for procuring of the Peace of the North, and the satisfaction of *Sueden*. The Imperial Ambassadors answered, That his most Christian Majesty was obliged to do that from the very day that the Ratifications of the Peace were exchanged: And so that second Conference had no better success than the former.

That which most vexed the Imperialists, was, that they could not obtain by the Peace, that the *French* King should restore the Ten Towns of *Alsatia* into the condition they were in before the War; that his Majesty should draw out his Garisons, and not possess them as belonging to him in propriety: And therefore, seeing that stuck extremly in their heart, they intended when they made the Treaty for consummating

ting the Peace, to have comprehended those Ten Towns amongst the places which *France* ought to evacuate; and in prospect of that, they put them into the List which at that time they gave of the places of the Empire, from whence the King was to remove his Forces. *M. Colbert* answered in general, that his Majesty was ready to draw out his Garisons from all the places which they held in the Empire, excepting those that were made over to *France* by the Treaties of *Munster* and *Nimueguen*.

That Answer gave no ground to the Imperialists to hope that they might obtain by that Negotiation, what they could not gain by the Treaty of Peace, though they alleged that the Treaty of *Munster* was not so expers concerning the Cession of the Ten Towns of *Alsatia*, but that an Article of the same Treaty seemed to contradict what was clearly explained in another place concerning that Cession. But the Imperialists at length waving that pretension, declared on the 15th, that they consented that *France* should evacuate all those places which their Forces held in the Empire, excepting those that had been yielded to them by the Treaties of *Munster* and *Nimueguen*; and that on their part they were ready to evacuate, not only *Bonne*, but also *Treves* and

and *Keyserflatern*, in compliance with the instances that were made to that effect by the Electors of *Cologne*, *Treves*, and the *Palatin*; but that for the other places of the Empire, they still expected the resolution of the Diet of *Ratisbone*, affirming that they doubted not but that the Emperor would comply with the desire of the States of the Empire.

That Answer being by the Mediators communicated to M. *Colbert* on the 16th, that Ambassador saw so little disposition on the part of the Imperialists to a sincere performance of the 27th Article of the Treaty of Peace, that he held to the last declaration which he had made, in respect that the Emperor, who was much more concerned than *France* to make that evacuation, ought likewise to be more inclined to it, to the end that some difficulties which apparently had no other scope but the Emperors particular advantage, might no longer retard the general ease of the States of the Empire.

The *French* Army was in the neighborhood of *Minden*, and began to straiten that place, where General *Spaen* pretended to make a vigorous resistance: But the Marechal *de Crequi* made Monsieur *Calvo* pass the *Weser* on the 30th with a party of Horse
and

and Foot, on a Bridge of Boats which he had caused to be made, whilst he himself, with a Body of Horse, went to cross it at a Ford, which he passed, partly swimming under the Guns of a Castle, and in sight of the Enemies Trenches. The Castle was afterward taken by the Foot commanded by the Marquess of *Uxelles*. At the same time the Marshal *de Crequi*, who passed the River only with an intent to oblige the Country to pay the Contributions which he had demanded, perceiving that General *Spaen* was come out of the Town with above Three thousand men, and some Field-pieces, to dispute the passage of the River, briskly attacked and defeated that Party. General *Spaen* was beat back to *Minden* with considerable loss of men killed, and above four hundred taken prisoners; so that the Elector of *Brandenbourg* had cause to be fully convinced, that nothing but a Peace could secure him from the miseries which the continuation of the War threatned.

This was the last action that put an end to so great a War; and if the Elector of *Brandenbourg* had halted but a few days the Negotiation of the Peace which was signed at *St. Germans* the day before, the news had come in time to have saved a great many brave men, by preventing that Engagement.

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The re-establishment of the Treaties of *Westphalia*, was the ground-work and chief Article of the peace of *Brandenbourg*, without any derogation from them, except that for avoiding the differences that arise commonly amongst Princes about the confusion of limits. *Sueden* yielded to the Elector of *Brandenbourg* the Territories which that King possessed beyond the *Oder* before the War, excepting the Towns of *Dam* and *Golnan*, with their dependencies; his Electoral Highness being in the mean time to retain possession of *Golnan*, until the Crown of *Sueden* should pay him the sum of fifty thousand Crowns.

The King of *Sueden* likewise gave up the half of the Tole and Customs which are raised at the Port of the Town of *Colberg*, and the other Ports of the Electoral *Pomerania*, and which were granted by the Treaty of *Stettin* in the year 1653. But *Sueden* had still the Sovereignty of the River of *Oder*, the Elector of *Brandenbourg* having no power to settle any Tole there.

That Prince was not exempted from the clause which was common to all the other Princes who had made their peace with *France*; to wit, that he could not directly nor indirectly assist the King of *Denmark* his Ally, if he continued to make war
against

against *Sueden*. But the *French* King as an effect of his good will, and for the good of the peace, promised by a separate Article to pay, or cause to be paid to the Elector the sum of Three hundred thousand crowns, in some manner to reimburse the charges he had been at during the course of the War.

There remained now no Negotiation of importance to be managed at *Nimueguen*, but that of the Treaty for fulfilling of the peace concluded betwixt the Emperor and *France*; for the Conferences that were on foot at *Louden* in *Schonen*, or rather the Negotiation that *M. de Meyerkrön* had begun at the *French* Court, gave hopes that ere long the peace would be concluded betwixt *Sueden* and *Denmark*. Upon design of hastning the conclusion of that peace, a considerable detachment of Cavalry commanded by the Marquess of *Joyense*, marched through the Territories of the Elector of *Brandenbourg*, into the Counties of *Oldenbourg* and *Delmenhurst*, and put all that Countrey under contribution.

The Count *D'Espense* passed at that time through *Nimueguen*, going with the Treaty to the Elector of *Brandenbourg*; and though that peace was signed at *St. Germans*, yet the Ratifications of it were exchanged

changed at *Nimueguen* the 22. of July 1679. so that nothing now detained M. *Colbert* at *Nimueguen*, but the concluding with the Imperialists the Treaty for fulfilling the peace. Yet he found them not as yet disposed to end that business quickly, though the conclusion of it was so necessary for the welfare and repose of the Empire, that without the same, the peace was of no use at all to it.

Matters standing thus, M. *Colbert* thought that it behoved him to put a little more heat into the Imperialists than he perceived there was, and to bring them to his hand by all ways imaginable. He found none more proper nor more natural, than to feign a sudden departure, for which he said he had received Orders; and in that design he sent away a good part of his Equipage and Servants. The Imperial Ambassadors made no doubt but that he had such Orders as he said; and the *Nuncio* bestirred himself with the zeal of a true Mediator, in soliciting the Imperialists, to the end that so many people ruined by the miseries of War, might not be longer without tasting the fruit of peace.

These considerations at length prevailed with the Emperor's Ambassadors: for tho' they had been as stiff as to the conclusion
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of the Treaty of performance, as they had been in respect of that of the peace itself; yet they well perceived that the endeavours which they had heretofore used for explaining in their favour in the Treaty of *Nimueguen*, what they found advantageous for *France* in the Treaty of *Munster*, having only tended to confirm the *French* pretensions as to the Sovereignty of the ten Towns of *Alsatia*, they might likewise be assured that they lost time in pretending to gain by the Treaty of Performance, more than they could by the Treaty of Peace; so that seeing *M. Colbert* had prefixed a day for his departure, they consented to sign the Treaty, rather than to leave so great a work imperfect.

By that Treaty which was signed the 17. the evacuation was on both sides to be made the 20th of *August*, from all places in general, which by the Treaties of *Westphalia* and *Nimueguen* belonged neither to his Imperial Majesty nor to the *French* King, excepting eight places mentioned in the 8th Article of the Treaty of Peace signed at *Nimueguen* the 5th of *February*, which the King was to possess in the Empire until the conclusion of the peace of the North.

Seeing

Seeing this Treaty was to take effect without any need of giving or exchanging of Ratifications; it was no sooner signed, but that M. *Colbert* left *Nimueguen* that he might return to *France* by the way of *Holland*: So that now it may be said that the Assembly at *Nimueguen* ended, since the chief party left it, and that there was no more to be treated there. Nevertheless the Mediators, part of the *Imperialists* and *Spaniards*, the Ambassadors of *Sueden* and of the States General, made a little longer stay at *Nimueguen*, there to sign the Treaties betwixt *Spain* and *Sueden*, *Sueden* and the States General. And the Nuncio intending to stay until the end, that he might give proofs of the sincerity of the intentions which he brought to that Assembly, was also one of the last that departed.

Since all the Princes, who had still some concerns to be adjusted, were comprehended in the Treaties which *France* had concluded with the principal parties, and by consequent all hostilities amongst them ceased; the greatest difficulties that remained to be determined, were about the Commerce of *Sueden* and the States General.

The Peace betwixt *Spain* and *Sueden* was easie to be concluded, seeing that in that Negotiation there was no new interest to be

be managed betwixt those Two Crowns: Neither was there any need of a Treaty for that Peace, only some Conditions were agreed upon, under which it was to be published in the Countries of the *Spanish* Dominion, and those that depend on *Sueden*.

The greatest perplexity that happened in that affair proceeded from this, that Sir *Lionel Jenkins* the Mediator, and the Ambassadors of *Sueden* had not, no more than the *French*, for the Reasons I mentioned before, seen the Marquess *de la Fuente* the *Spanish* Ambassador; so that since the Mediator could not directly mediate betwixt that Ambassador of *Spain* and those of *Sueden*, the Negotiation on the part of *Spain*, behoved to be managed betwixt Sir *Lionel Jenkins* and the Marquess *de la Fuente* by the mediation of the Imperial Ambassadors; by this means, and by the great care that the Lord Ambassador *Jenkins* took in that Affair, the parties agreed upon a form for the re-establishment and publication of the Peace betwixt the Two Crowns of *Spain* and *Sueden*; and the mutual Acts of acceptation being reciprocally interchanged, the form was sent to *Spain* and *Sueden*, to be signed by the Two Kings, and afterwards published at *Madrid* and *Brussels*, and at *Stockholme* and *Riga* in *Livonia*.
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The substance of that formulary was, that the Declaration of War, which had been made some years ago, especially since the 17th of September of the foregoing year, betwixt the Kings of *Sueden* and *Spain*, should be reputed as never made; that his Catholick Majesty consented that the King of *Sueden* should be comprehended in the Treaty of Peace, which had been signed, and since ratified betwixt *France* and *Spain*; and then, that his *Suedish* Majesty approved that the King of *Spain* should in like manner be comprehended in the Treaty of Peace that had been signed and ratified betwixt his Imperial Majesty, and the most Christian King; these Two Kings commanding and declaring that a true, sincere and Christian Peace be renewed and settled betwixt them, their Kingdoms and Subjects, as fully as there had never been War nor any Hostility betwixt them.

The interest of *Sueden* and *Holland*, were attended with so many difficulties, that those Two Treaties of Peace and Commerce betwixt those Two Powers, were the last that were concluded at *Nimueguen*. So many obstacles and so hard to be surmounted were started concerning Navigation, that it would be tedious, and contrary to the design I proposed to my self in writing,
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if I should enlarge upon the particulars: I shall only hint at the principal points on which were founded the difficulties that lasted so long.

So soon as the Peace was signed betwixt *France* and the *States-General*, the Negotiation of another betwixt *Sueden* and the same States was begun. The most difficult point to be adjusted in the Negotiation of that peace, was the renewing of the Treaties of Alliance and Commerce which have been betwixt the two Nations. The *Suedes* insisted much upon the renewing of the Treaty of 1673; but it being made when the affairs of *Holland* were in a bad condition, and in hopes that the *Suedes* having undertaken to be the Mediators of the peace, would have no occasion to declare, as they did, for *France*: in prospect of that, the *States-General* scrupled not by that Treaty to grant great advantages to *Sueden*; but they would not at all consent that it should be mentioned in the fourth Article of the Treaty of peace, wherein they only renewed those of 1640. 1645. 1646. and 1667.

Of seven and thirty Articles which compose the Treaty of Commerce and Navigation, there was hardly one which did not produce some difficulty. They had already,

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for almost the space of a whole year, laboured in vain to surmount those obstacles; and therefore it was expected that at the *Hague* rather than *Nimueguen*, the principal points in debate would be more easily adjusted. With these hopes M. *Olizerkrans* went in the Month of *Mây* to the *Hague*; and the *States General* having named Commissioners to treat with that Ambassador, they met at the House of the Count *D'Avaux*, who in that juncture performed the Office of Mediator. Besides, the particular interest that the Town of *Amsterdam* and some other Towns of *Holland*, have in the commerce with *Sueden*, requiring more exact informations as to every particular difficulty; it was reasonably hoped, that that affair would be more easily determined at the *Hague* than at *Nimueguen*.

They had many conferences upon that subject. The *States* demanded a diminution of the impositions that *Sueden* had laid upon bulky commodities, especially since the Treaty that *Sueden* made with the *States* in 1640. These commodities are such as are of a great bulk and small price, as Stone and Marble, Hemp, Wax, Pitch, Tar, Potashes, Corn and Timber. But the *States* waived the three first sort of bulky Commodities; and the Ambassador of *Sueden* after
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much repugnancy in two conferences successively, consented at length that the four other sorts of bulky commodities should be regulated according to the Rates of 1659. which neverthels are but little lower than those whereof the States complained.

It was also agreed upon, That all duties and customs unequally imposed, which tended to the lessening of the mutual freedom of Trade, and which have been introduced in *Sueden* since the year 1656. should be discharged for the future; and that the subjects on both sides should pay no other duties but those that the native subjects do pay. Nevertheless that equality was not to be observed in the Kingdom of *Sueden* and *Finland*; that is to say, that that clause of the Treaty should only reach *Riga* in *Livonia*, *Ingria*, *Pomerania*, and the other Dominions of *Sueden* upon the *Baltick-sea*; the Provinces of *Ischonen*, *Bleking*, and *Holland*, being reckoned as parts of the ancient Kingdom of *Sueden*, though they be not specified in the Treaty.

The free and half-free Ships of *Sueden*, gave occasion to another difficulty: The free Ships are vessels built for War, carrying from 24. to 30. piece of Cannon, and are obliged to serve in the Kings Fleet in

time of War; and therefore the King hath priviledged them in trading in respect of duties and customs, that the benefit which they thereby enjoy, may recompence their service, and supply the charges of rigging and fitting of them out, from which Merchants ships are exempted. By means whereof the King of *Sueden* hath always men trained to the Sea, and a Squadron of about thirty Ships.

The half-free Ships are Vessels of about One hundred Tuns burden; their privileges and number are so small, that they cannot be very prejudicial to the *Dutch* Trade. Nevertheless the *Dutch* found, that all these priviledged Vessels might carry away the greatest part of the Trade of the *Baltick*; and therefore the States insisted vigorously upon the abrogation of all those privileges, as contrary to the equality of advantage which the subjects of both Nations were to enjoy: But in that debate the same mean was taken which served to remove the former difficulty; and it was agreed upon, that these Vessels should only enjoy their exemptions in the Territories of the Kingdom of *Sueden* and *Finland*; and that in the other Provinces on the *Baltick*-sea, depending on the Crown of *Sueden*, there should be no distinction
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between *Suedish* Ships and *Dutch*.

It could not be believed after this, that any new difficulty could retard the conclusion of the Treaty of Commerce, whereof the Negotiation had lasted above a year : Nevertheless there happened one which put a full stop to the affair. The Ambassadors of the *States-General* had put in the 7th Article of their project, *That the subjects on either side should be used as the Nation in greatest friendship, ut quæque gens amicissima.*

The *Suedes* took occasion from this, to demand a freedom from the duties which the *Dutch* had imposed upon the *Suedish* commodities that pass the *Sound*; and the rather, because that imposition was never laid on till the *Suedes* had obtained from the *Danes*, by Treaties concluded to their advantage, an exemption from part of the duties that are exacted in the *Sound*. The truth is, that the States to hinder that exemption from being prejudicial to the trade of their subjects who enjoy not the same priviledg, settled then in their Countrey upon those that had the priviledg of the *Sound*, an Imposition almost equivalent to that Exemption.

The *Dutch* said, That the equality which ought to be observed in the Trade of the

two Nations, was not hurt by that kind of compensation; and alledged that it was so little contrary to it, that in all the Treaties which had been concluded in the long time since these duties were imposed, the abrogation of them was never thought upon when other Treaties was made.

The *Suedes* however, who would not lose to the profit of the *Dutch*, what they obtained to the prejudice of *Denmark*, stood firmly to that point; so that the conferences at the *Hague* were broken up, and the Count *D'Arvaux* could not promise himself to renew them again on that subject with the same success that they had had in the other difficulties; insomuch that *M. Oliver Krants* came back to *Nimueguen* (*Aug. 1679.*) where the Assembly being shortly after wholly dissolved, the conclusion of these Treaties could no longer be prolonged, which yet were not signed until the second of *October*; the annulling of the Imposts laid on in *Holland*, and the reduction of those of *Sueden* to the standard of the Treaty of 1640. remaining undecided and referred to other conferences which were to be held at the *Hague* for adjusting these affairs within eighteen Months after the signing of the Treaty.

In the mean time M. *de Mayerkroon*, who had been for some time at the *French Court*, perceiving that the conferences in *Schonen* did not advance the Negotiation of the peace betwixt *Sueden* and *Denmark*, began to seem more inclined to conclude the Treaty of the King his Master, tho' he had no cause to expect more advantageous conditions than those he had at first. On the contrary, experience and example made appear, that it could not but be prejudicial to the King of *Denmark*, to be the last in making his peace.

The *French King* on his part, desiring nothing more than to correspond with that good disposition, and to render the peace general by the conclusion of that of *Denmark*, gave for that end, on the 24th of *August*, a full power to M. *de Pomponne*, and by that means within a few days the Treaty was concluded betwixt his Majesty and the Kings of *Sueden* and *Denmark*, and was signed at *St. Germans* the second of *September*, on the same conditions that the King had always proposed for the full satisfaction of his Ally.

It is known that his Majesty declared from the beginning, That he could not make peace with the King of *Denmark*, but upon condition of a full restitution

to *Sueden*. The delays and difficulties that were made thereupon, moved not his Majesty to abate any thing of the Treaties of *Roschild*, *Copenhagen*, and *Westphalia*; and these Treaties were the ground-work of the peace of *Denmark*; in the fourth Article whercof his *Danish* Majesty declared, That in consideration of his most Christian Majesty, he consented that the Crown of *Sueden* be restored to all that it possessed before the War; and to all the Territories, States, Provinces, Towns, and places that have been yielded up and acquired by those three Treaties, and by consequent to all that the *Danish* Arms had possessed during that War.

As to the differences that heretofore happened betwixt the subjects of the two Nations by reason of the priviledges and exemptions which the *Suedes*, as I said, enjoy from a part of the duties that the King of *Denmark* raises in the *Sound* and in the *Belt*, the most Christian King being uncertain whether or not the intention of the King of *Sueden* was that his subjects should any ways make use of their priviledges to the prejudice of the revenue of the K. of *Denmark*, thought fit so to order affairs by that Treaty, that Commissioners named by each party, should meet three months after the exchange of the
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Ratifications, and by the mediation of a Minister appointed by his Majesty, adjust all these differences in an amicable way.

The Restauration of the Duke of *Sleswick Holstein-Gottorp* having been one of the conditions on which the *French* King consented to this Peace; it was likewise one of the greatest difficulties that happened in the carrying on of the Treaty. That Prince was stript of all by the King of *Denmark*, only for being an Ally to the King of *Sueden*; and therefore ought to be restored to all again: To which, the King of *Denmark*, as an evidence of the desire he had to put an end to the War with all expedition, consented at the desire and requisition of the *French* King; granting that the Duke of *Sleswick Holstein-Gottorp*, should enjoy his Territories, Provinces, Towns and Places, in the same state as they were in at the signing of the Treaty, with all the Sovereignty that belonged to him by virtue of the Treaties of *Roschild*, *Copenhagen* and *Westphalia*. That Prince could hardly pretend to more, unless it were the damage that his Territories had suffered during the War, by the vast sums of Money that the King of *Denmark* had raised therein, as being one of the best Countries of all the North.

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The Elector of *Brandenbourg*, the Princes of the House of *Brunswick*, and the Bishop of *Munster*, who made their separate Treaties, after that the Peace was concluded betwixt *France* and *Holland*, received profitable testimonies of the desire that the *French* King had of giving repose to *Europe*; for his Majesty was willing to ease them of part of the charges of the War, by giving them large sums of Money, in consideration of their good inclinations towards the Peace, and particularly in favour to the King of *Sueden*, who has not been wanting on his part, to give considerable advantages to all these Princes: But the King of *Denmark* is the only Prince who has not only reserved none of his Conquests; but likewise the sole enemy of *Sueden*, to whom *France* hath allowed no consideration for his charges. Seeing the King of *Denmark* was at that time in a condition to demand Reason of the State of *Hambourg*, in relation to several pretensions that he has upon that City, and particularly concerning the Homage that he claims from it; he drew all his Forces about that Town immediately after the conclusion of the Peace with *Sueden*. The truth is, his *Danish* Majesty had not an Army strong enough to force such a City as *Hambourg*,

bourg, and the more, because the Neighbouring Princes concerned themselves in its preservation: But the King of *Denmark* coming at first as near to it as he pleased, by reason of the neighborhood of *Altena*, raised Batteries for his Artillery and Bombes, with which he might easily have incommoded the Town.

October 1679, In this Instant the most Christian King wrote to the King of *Denmark*, intreating him not to disturb the repose that the general Peace had given to all *Europe* almost: and the Princes of the House of *Brunswick*, who had already sent Forces into *Hambourg* to provide for its defence, interposed vigorously for that accommodation, which was provisionally concluded the first of *November*; the Rights of the King of *Denmark* and of the City of *Hambourg* remaining as they were, until that the point of Homage and the other differences which depended betwixt his *Danish* Majesty and that Town, should in an amicable way be decided by course of Law.

November 1679, The chief condition of that agreement, was an obligation by the Town of *Hambourg*, to pay, at Five Terms, to his *Danish* Majesty, the sum of Two hundred and twenty thousand Crowns; in
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consideration whereof, that King remitted the indignation he had conceived against that Town, renounc'd the pretensions that he had to the Lands jointly possessed by *Hambourg* and *Lubeck*; and promised to restore the Ships, Goods, Commodities and Inhabitants of *Hambourg*, which had been seized by reason of these pretensions.

Thus ended that great War, wherein almost all the Princes of *Europe* were engaged from the year 1672. But it was not enough for the good and repose of *Europe*, that the general peace put an end to all the calamities of the War; these mournful Scenes of so bloody a Tragedy required at length some pleasing Catastrophy, which might sweeten the memory of past miseries, and fill the people with more agreeable hopes. Nothing was more proper to produce such an effect than the Marriage of the chief Princes who had had a share in the War, seeing these new Alliances were sacred ties to render the Peace indissolvable.

No sooner had the King of *Spain* ratified the Peace with *France*, but that he thought upon confirming it by a new Alliance with the *French* King; so that though the Court of *Spain* were far engaged with the Emperor for the Marriage of the Imperial Princess with his Catholick Majesty, yet it hindered

dered not that Prince from converting all his thoughts towards *France*. The Picture of Madamoiselle *de Valois*, and the Royal qualities of that Princess, made him resolve the last Spring to cause the Marquess *de los Balbases* to go from *Nimueguen* to the *French* Court, in quallity of Ambassador extraordinary, to demand her in Marriage.

That Minister went suddenly into *France*, and in a private Audience which he had of the King about the beginning of *May*, he demanded of his Majesty Madamoiselle in Marriage for the King his Master; but his Majesty gave no answer to the Ambassador concerning an affair of that importance until the beginning of *July*, at which time he declared that he granted Madamoiselle to the King of *Spain*. That Kingdom being mindful that *France* had always given them good Queens, the people were extreemly overjoyed at the news; but the young Monarch especially, who was deeply smitten with the merit of that Princess.

The Ceremony of the Marriage was performed at *Fontain-bleau* the last day of *August*, with all the magnificence that could be expected from the *French* Court. The Procuration which the King of *Spain* sent blank, to be filled up with the name of him whom the King should think fit to nominate

nate for espousing the Queen, was given to the Prince of *Conty*, who gave his Hand to that Princess in the name of his Catholick Majesty ; and the Queen sometime after took her Journey for *Spain*, not without shedding of Tears, which testified that the regret of leaving *France* was more sensible to her, than the joy of possessing a Crown.

The Heroick qualities both of body and mind which met in the person of the Prince of *Conty*, gained so much of the esteem and affection of his Majesty, that he thought it not enough to give him a very special mark of it, by making choice of him to espouse the Queen of *Spain* ; but shortly after gave him more sensible testimonies of the same, by bestowing upon him in Marriage Mademoiselle de *Blois*, whom his Majesty tenderly loves. That Marriage was celebrated with so much splendour, and with so universal approbation, that the Court never appeared more magnificent, nor better satisfied than upon that occasion.

The Marriage of the King of *Sueden* with the Princess *Ulrica* of *Denmark*, was agreed upon, before the rupture betwixt *Sueden* and *Denmark* by this last War: yea, even from that time, stately Coaches, and some things that were necessary for the Pomp of that Marriage, were providing in *France*;

France; so that after the Peace was concluded betwixt those Two Kings, it was not hard to make up that new Marriage: But seeing those Princes had still a great deal to do to regulate affairs within and without their Kingdoms, and especially the King of *Sueden*, who was to retake possession of several Provinces, and to give orders for settling them again in the condition that they were in before the War; the consummation of that Marriage was delayed until the Spring: In the mean time part of the Equipage for that Ceremony was preparing at *Hambourg*; and Clothes and other things which were ordered to be made in *France*, were expected from thence.

December 1679, The *French* Court also laid aside all thoughts of War, Feasting and Divertisements were the dayly employment there; and the Marriage of the Queen of *Spain* was hardly over, when the King thought on that of the Dauphin. Men cast their eyes on all the Princesses of *Europe*, being curious to know for whom that great fortune was destin'd by Heaven; but his Majesty pitched upon the Princess *Anne Marie Christian* of *Bavaria*, for whom also the Dauphin seemed to have greatest inclination. M. *Colbert*, who was just returned from *Nimueguen*, was sent into *Bavaria* to treat

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treat about the Marriage, where he concluded all the Articles, and signed the contract thereof the 30th of *December*. Afterward the King sent the Duke of *Crequi* into *Bavaria* with presents for the Princess, who being accompanied by Forty Gentlemen, performed the journey by Post.

The Court at that time prepared for the Journey which the King designed in *February*, to go meet the Dauphiness as far as *Tholous*, where the ceremonies and confirmation of the Marriage were to be performed; the Duke of *Bavaria* having espoused the Dauphiness in name of the Dauphin at *Munichen*. The King in the mean time acquainted all neighbouring Princes with that Marriage, by Letters which he wrote to them, wherein it appears that the piety and great virtues wherewith that Princess is endowed, have given his Majesty just cause to hope, that that alliance will produce to *France*, Princes that shall worthily answer the greatness of so August a Birth.

F I N I S.